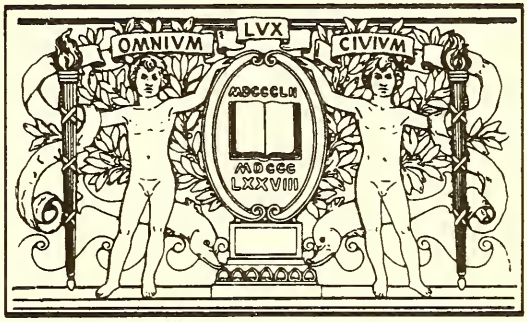
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A HISTORY OF EGYPT

From the End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII. B.C. 30

Vol. VI.

EGYPT UNDER THE PRIEST-KINGS AND TANITES AND NUBIANS

Books on Egypt and Chaldaea

History of Egypt

EGYPT

UNDER THE

PRIEST-KINGS, TANITES, AND NUBIANS

Ernest Gladstone Thompson

BY

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., LITT.D., D.LIT.

KEEPER OF THE EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
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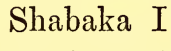
PREFACE

THE period of Egyptian History treated in the present volume begins with the reign of Nes-ba-Ṭeṭṭeṭ, the first king of the XXIst Dynasty from Tanis, and ends with that of Psammetichus II., the third king of the XXVIth Dynasty, and the narrative describes the principal events which took place in Egypt and the various portions of her Empire from about B.C. 1100 to B.C. 600. It includes the reigns of a number of kings under whose rule the power of Egypt declined and her Empire shrank, and in whose time the various hereditary foes of Egypt succeeded in obtaining their independence. In spite of this, however, we find that the Northern kingdom of Egypt made itself very powerful, and it is interesting to note how this came to pass, viz., by the aid of foreign soldiers and sailors. With the close of the XXVth Dynasty the New Empire came to an end, and the period of Egyptian Renaissance began. Under Shashanq I. the feeble kingdoms of the South and North were once more united, and a Libyan monarch occupied the throne of the Pharaohs. The cult of

Bast increased and flourished whilst that of Åmen-Rā declined, and the priests of Åmen were compelled to seek asylum at Napata in Nubia. Stirred up by these the Nubians provoked the wrath of the great kings of Assyria, and Egypt found herself involved in war with an enemy who was far more terrible than any with whom she had ever come in contact. Sargon and his son Sennacherib turned Syria and Palestine into provinces of Assyria, but it was reserved for Esarhaddon and his son Ashur-bani-pal to enter Egypt and to make the king of Assyria her over-lord. The last-named king sacked Thebes and gave the Egyptians an example of the manner in which the Assyrians were accustomed to treat the inhabitants of a conquered country; but the recuperative power of Egypt was so great that in the country generally the traces of the destruction wrought by "the great king, the king of Assyria," and his host were soon obliterated. As soon as the Nubian pretenders to the throne of Egypt saw that Thebes had fallen and that Åmen-Rā was powerless to protect his city, their opposition to the inevitable ceased, and Egypt rested in tolerable peace under the rule of the twenty governors who were appointed by Esarhaddon, and who were restored to their positions by Ashur-bani-pal after the revolt of the Nubian Tirhâḳâh.

In the period of history treated in this volume there is little besides the political facts to interest the historian, and its art and archaeology afford little instruction to the student. Art of every kind had fallen

into a state of apathy and lack of originality, and artists followed the models of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties with servile conventionality. The Egyptian language began to decay in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and in the period under consideration decay of the writing also set in; in the tenth century before Christ the hieratic script was supplemented by demotic, and a few centuries later was almost unknown. With the end of the rule of the XXVth Dynasty the New Empire comes to an end.

In connexion with the question of the identification of So or Sib'e with Shabaka I have taken the view that the Muṣuri of which he is stated to have been Commander-in-chief,  TAR-TAN-NU (var. TUR-DAN-NU) was Egypt, and not a country in Northern Arabia, as has been maintained by Dr. Winckler and by his followers, Prof. T. K. Cheyne and others. I am well aware that it is a serious matter to disagree with the *dicta* of such a distinguished critic as Prof. Cheyne, but in this particular case he has relied upon the statements of a professed exponent of Assyriology, of which science Prof. Cheyne has, admittedly, no knowledge at first hand. Dr. Winckler's theory has received but little support in Germany itself, and it would ere now have passed into the limbo of forgotten theories but for its adoption and advocacy by Prof. Cheyne in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, where it is made to support his own extraordinary theory of the existence of a "Jerahmeelite" kingdom in Southern

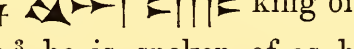
Palestine. These views are so revolutionary that they naturally call for careful examination, and I now propose to discuss the evidence on which Dr. Winckler bases his theory of the existence of an Arabian Muṣri or Muṣuri.

Briefly stated his theory is as follows:—It is agreed by all Assyriologists that there were certainly two countries which bore the name of Muṣri: 1. Egypt, and 2. a land in Northern Syria. Dr. Winckler, however, asserts that all the supposed mentions of the Egyptian Muṣri which are to be found in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III., and of Sargon, and of his son Sennacherib, are to be taken as referring not to Egypt, but to another country of the same name alleged to be situated in Northern Arabia. The supposed evidence on which he bases this assertion I will now discuss in detail.

1. In Dr. Winckler's first exposition of his views,[1] he made the assumption on which was based the whole fabric of his theory with regard to his new kingdoms of Muṣri and Meluḫḫa and to their identity with certain portions of Dr. Glaser's hypothetical "Minaean Empire," and to the age of the Minaean Inscriptions, and on which Prof. Cheyne's "Jerahmeelite" theory partly rests. This assumption can, however, be shown to be without foundation. Dr. Winckler says that the Muṣri mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser III. cannot be Egypt and must be in Arabia because IDIBI'ILU, who was

[1] See *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i., Leipzig, 1893, p. 24 ff.

appointed "Ḳîpu," i.e., "Warden of the Marches," of Muṣri by this king, is, presumably, mentioned in one passage,[1] which reads, "[I]dibi'ilu of the land of Arubu." Dr. Winckler assumes that because Arubu = Arabia, and therefore Idibi'ilu was an Arabian, it follows that the Muṣri over which he was appointed "Ḳîpu" must have been in Arabia. That the Arabian Idibi'ilu is the same man as the "Ḳîpu" of Muṣri is very probable, but the fact of the "Ḳîpu" of Muṣri being an Arabian is no proof whatsoever that the Muṣri mentioned was in Arabia, for an Arab chief could perfectly well have been appointed Warden of the Marches of a neighbouring kingdom by the Assyrian king. Moreover since Askelon is mentioned in the same context with the Arabian Idibi'ilu, it is certain that Muṣri is here Egypt, and that Idibi'ilu was an Arab shêkh who was appointed to watch the borders of Egypt in the Assyrian interest. Thus Dr. Winckler's initial assumption falls to the ground.

2. In a second paper[2] dealing with the same subject, Dr. Winckler seeks corroboration of his theory by finding supposed allusions to his third Muṣri in other Assyrian inscriptions. In texts of Sargon (B.C. 722–705) mention is made (as is stated *infra*, p. 125) of Pi-ir-'-u  king of Muṣuri or Muṣri; in one place[3] he is spoken of as having been

[1] See Rost, *Keilschrifttexte Tiglath-Pilesers III.*, xviii. *b*. 12.

[2] *Muṣri, Meluḫḫa, Ma'în* (*Mitteilungen der vorderas. Ges.*, 1898, 1).

[3] Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, Bd. i., p. 188, 189, l. 29 ff.

invited to join the Philistines, Jews, Edomites, and Moabites in a conspiracy against Assyrian authority in Palestine,[1] but, Sargon adds, "he could not save them." He (Pi-ir-') is again mentioned in conjunction with Sam-si, queen of Aribbi, and It'amra, of the land of Saba', who are described as "kings of the side of the sea and of the desert." Now Dr. Winckler maintains that the fact of Pir'u being mentioned side by side with Arabian rulers proves that he was an Arabian himself, but this, of course, does not follow, for Arab chieftains might well be grouped with the king of Egypt as bringing tribute to the king of Assyria. Dr. Winckler's further argument that because the title Pharaoh, with which word Pir'u has, naturally, been identified, was not used elsewhere by the Assyrians to designate the king of Egypt, therefore it cannot be employed in this sense by Sargon, begs the question. On the analogy of the use of the title Pharaoh as a proper name for every king of Egypt in passages of the Old Testament which are usually regarded as based upon or containing traditions of early contact between the Hebrews and the Egyptians, it would seem likely that Sargon, one of the earliest of the later kings of Assyria to come into contact with Egypt, might speak in precisely the same way of Pharaoh (Pir'u) king of Egypt. Philologically Pir'u is, like the Hebrew פַּרְעֹה, a perfect transcription of the Egyptian Per-āa,

[1] Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, Bd. i. p. 20, 21, l. 97; see also pp. 100, 101, l. 27.

 . Thus we can find no proof that the Muṣri or Muṣuri, of which Pir'u was king, was in Northern Arabia, or was in fact any other country than Egypt, and as this is so, Sib'e,[1] the Tartan of Muṣri, the So (Sêwê) of the Bible (see *infra*, p. 124) who was defeated at Rapiḥi by Sargon, must, since he was an officer of Pir'u, have been the Egyptian Commander-in-chief.

3. Dr. Winckler asserts that the princes of Muṣur who fought against Sennacherib at the Battle of Eltekeh, B.C. 701, were, in reality, Arab *shêkhs*, and that the chariots and archers of the king of Meluḫḫa, which were sent to help the princes of Muṣur, were actually sent by a king of Yaman, and not, as has hitherto been supposed, by an Ethiopian or Egyptian monarch. The assertion that the princes of Muṣur were Arab shêkhs rests on the assumption which we have criticised in Nos. 1 and 2; no further arguments are adduced to show that the Muṣur here mentioned is not Egypt, except an assertion that Meluḫḫa is to be identified with Sinai and Midian,[2] which is apparently regarded as an assumption in favour of this Muṣur being a part of Arabia. Neglecting for the moment the question of the actual position of Meluḫḫa, and assuming that Dr. Winckler's view is correct, we still have no proof that this Muṣur was in Arabia, for it

[1] Winckler, *Sargon*, vol. i., pp. 7 and 101.

[2] Winckler, *Altor. Forsch.*, i., p. 27. As we shall see later, Dr. Winckler has modified his view as to the position of Meluḫḫa, and he now thinks it is in Yaman—which is far less probable.

does not follow that, because Meluḫḫa may have been Sinai and Midian, therefore the Muṣur mentioned in connexion with it was not Egypt but a part of Arabia. This is another example of Dr. Winckler's tendency to regard a patent *non sequitur* as a valid argument.

4. In connexion with this argument Dr. Winckler quotes the fact that Yamani, the leader of the revolt at Ashdod in Sargon's time, is stated by the Assyrians to have fled before the advance of the royal army, *ana ite (mâtu)Muṣuri ša paṭ (mâtu)Meluḫḫa;* these Assyrian words Dr. Winckler translates, "nach dem gebiete von Muṣur, welches zum bereiche von Meluḫḫa gehört." This rendering suggests that the Muṣur here mentioned was in some way politically dependent upon Meluḫḫa, and therefore cannot be Egypt, but the Assyrian expression "ša paṭ (mâtu)Meluḫḫa" is purely geographical in meaning, and conveys no political idea. In this case also there is no reason to suppose that, because Meluḫḫa is Sinai and Midian, therefore Muṣur cannot be Egypt, but must be in Arabia. Moreover, if we consider Yamani's position for a moment we shall see that he was flying before a hostile army which was advancing from the north, and it is obvious to anyone who has travelled over the country that a fugitive from Ashdod would make the best of his way direct to Egypt, and not straight across the enemy's front, where he would be daily in danger either of capture or starvation.

Thus in all the Assyrian passages referred to above

we have not found a vestige of support for Dr. Winckler's theory of the existence of a third Muṣur, or Muṣri, in Northern Arabia. In every case the Muṣur or Muṣri mentioned is Egypt, and Egypt alone.

We have now to note that all these conflicts between the Assyrians and the peoples of Muṣri and Meluḫḫa took place on the borders of Egypt and Palestine, and not on the borders of Arabia and Palestine. Rapiḥi, where Sib'e was defeated by Sargon, is Raphia, where Ptolemy Philopator defeated Antiochus the Great; Altakû, or Eltekeh, where Sennacherib's battle took place B.C. 701, is in the neighbourhood. This piece of country has always been the natural battle-ground of Egypt and her Asiatic neighbours. As in Ptolemaïc days Egyptian and Asiatic armies fought here, so also did their predecessors fight here in the days of the Assyrian Empire.

Dr. Winckler presumably perceives that the fact of these battles having been fought in Philistia on the borders of Egypt is difficult to reconcile with his view that the Muṣur or Muṣri which we are discussing was not Egypt, but was situated in Northern Arabia. He, however, seeks to explain away this difficulty by the enunciation of a very far-reaching hypothesis in his later pamphlet *Muṣri, Meluḫḫa, Ma'în*, Berlin, 1898. He holds that his North Arabian Muṣri was simply the northern part of Meluḫḫa, which was not Sinai and Midian, as he previously, with much probability, maintained, but a great and powerful kingdom with its

centre in Yaman, which before the VIIIth Century B.C. had extended its influence beyond the borders of "Muṣri" (which is regarded as directly abutting upon South Palestine) to the shores of the Mediterranean, thus including Southern Judaea and the Philistine cities in this hypothetical empire of Muṣri-Meluḫḫa. Pir'u was thus, according to Dr. Winckler, a prince of Muṣri, who came to the help of his tributary Ḥanunu of Gaza, and Sib'e was the Muṣrite Tartan; the object of the interference of these Arabians with Philistia being the maintenance of the "Muṣrite-Meluḫḫan" supremacy in Southern Palestine which was threatened by Assyria. This is, according to Dr. Winckler, why these battles were fought in Philistia.

The great objection to this theory is that we have no proof of the existence of any such Arabian Empire in the VIIIth Century B.C. Dr. Winckler, however, evades this difficulty by bringing to bear Dr. Glaser's unproven theory of the existence of a "Minaean Empire" in Yaman in the VIIIth and earlier centuries B.C.

It is unnecessary to discuss here the general question of the antiquity of the Minaean dominion in Southern Arabia, but we must note in passing that the majority of the reasons given by Dr. Glaser for his belief in the great antiquity of Ma'in and its pre-Sabaean character seem to us wholly insufficient. One piece of the evidence on which he relies, however, directly concerns us here, and it consists of the well-known Himyaritic

inscription Glaser 1155 (Halévy 535). In this inscription mention is made of 'Ashr אשר, and Mṣr מצר, and Mdy מדי, and 'Ebrnhrn עברנהרן, and these names were first explained as being those of Ashur (Assyria), Egypt, Media, and "the other side of the River," i.e., Mesopotamia; it may be added that the inscription was thought to belong to the Persian Period. Recently, however, Prof. Hommel took the view[1] that the inscription was contemporaneous with the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, about B.C. 1600, and that the *Mdy* mentioned were the ancient Egyptian police force the *Matchaiu* (Maḍoy). The absurdity of this theory has been exposed by Herr M. Hartmann (*Zeitschrift für Ass.* 1895, x. p. 32). Dr. Glaser naturally adopted this theory because it seemed to support his own belief in the great age of the Minaean inscriptions, but the next theory on the subject, which was put forward by Dr. Winckler, was not calculated to find favour in Dr. Glaser's sight because it reduced the age of the inscription by nearly *one thousand* years! In the Mṣr or Mṣrn (=Al-Mṣr) of the inscription referred to, Dr. Winckler preferred to see his hypothetical North Arabian Muṣri, rather than Egypt, which we should naturally take it to be, and his vague language on the subject leads his readers to think that he sees in the text an actual allusion to wars between his north Arabian Muṣri and Ashur, i.e., the struggle between the "Minaean Empire" with its northern dependency

[1] *Aufs. und Abh.*, i. 7 f.

Muṣri and Assyria in the VIIIth Century B.C.[1] Pir'u and Sib'e are to him nothing more than Minaean leaders, and because in the inscription Glaser No. 1155 certain officials in MṢR are called "kbry," i.e., "great men," he goes so far as to translate "So, king of Miṣraim" = "Sib'e, tartan of Muṣri" into Minaean as סבא כבר מצר, i.e., "Sib'e *kbr* (i.e., great man) of Mṣr"! This rendering into Minaean betrays a naïve confidence in the infallibility of his own theory, and is on general grounds quite incomprehensible.

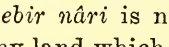
With the view of still further supporting his theory Dr. Winckler compared the phrase 'EBR-NHRN in the inscription Glaser No. 1155 with the expression EBIR NÂRI, which is found in the Assyrian tablet K. 3500 of the British Museum collection. This tablet has been assigned by Prof. Hommel to the reign of Ashur-bêl-kala (?), B.C. 1080, but, as Dr. Winckler is aware (*Muṣri*, p. 52), it in reality belongs to the reign of Esarhaddon, B.C. 681–668, whose name, now that the fragment has been joined to two others (K. 4444 and K. 10,235), is found to occur twice upon it. Thus Prof. Hommel's date, which was calculated to support Dr. Glaser's belief in the great antiquity of the inscriptions which he had acquired, is shown to have been based upon a mere guess at the reading of an Assyrian name, and this guess was, unfortunately, wrong by 400 years! The real date of the tablet K. 3500, etc.,

[1] *Muṣri*, p. 35.

does not, however, invalidate its importance for Dr. Winckler's purposes, as he is arguing that the inscription Glaser No. 1155 dates from the VIIIth Century, i.e., not many years before the reign of Esarhaddon. The point he tries to make is that the 'EBR-NHRN of the Minaean inscription and the EBIR NÂRI of the Assyrian tablet both refer to the same thing at the same time, i.e., to Northern Arabia and Syria in the VIIIth and VIIth Centuries B.C. (*Muṣri*, p. 51 ff.). The country referred to by the words *ebir nâri* "beyond the river" is certainly Syria, and when we consider that the writer of the tablet was in Assyria we see that it is quite natural for him to refer to Syria in these words. On the other hand it would not be at all natural for an Arab of Yaman to refer to Syria as 'EBR NHRN. The Hebrews used the same phrase under the form עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר *'êbher hannâhâr*, not as Dr. Winckler writes, *'êber ha-nahar* (*Muṣri*, p. 20), and meant by it Mesopotamia, because Mesopotamia was, to them, on the other side of the river, as Syria was to the Assyrians. It is then evident that to an Arab of Yaman 'EBR NHRN would mean not Syria, or even Northern Arabia, but Southern Mesopotamia and Persia. This explanation supports the usually accepted view as to the meaning of the inscription, which, in Hartmann's opinion, directly refers to the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses; whether this be so or not it must be pointed out that no idea of contemporaneousness can be deduced from the Semitic words for "across the

river"![1] But in the inscription No. 1155 there also occurs the mention of the land MDY, which has been usually identified with Media, though Prof. Hommel erroneously saw in this name a reference to the Egyptian *Mātchaiu*. In his description of the contents of the text Dr. Winckler wholly ignores the mention of this name, giving no explanation of it whatsoever. The view of Hartmann and Mordtmann that MDY is Madai, i.e., Media, is the only one which makes sense of the inscription, and agrees with the obvious meaning of *'ebr nhrn*. Passing for a moment over the question of the identification of the land 'Ashr, we have then in the inscription Glaser No. 1155 mention of Media, Persia, and MṢR, and we naturally assume that MṢR is Egypt, and not Dr. Winckler's Muṣri, the existence of which, as we have shown, rests on no convincing evidence. The contents of the inscription supply nothing which would lead us to suppose that any country in Arabia, or in fact, any other country than Egypt, is intended by the name MṢR.

The date of the inscription No. 1155 is evident from its contents, according to which 'Am-Ṣdḳ, son of Khm'tht of Yf'an, and Sa'd, son of Wlg of Dhfgn, the two great men of Mṣr, and the Minaeans of Mṣr, who lived in (?) Mṣr, and who travelled as merchants

[1] In Assyrian  . It must be distinctly understood that *ebir nâri* is not the name of any country in particular, but of any land which lay beyond the Euphrates on the side opposite to that on which the writer lived.

between the two lands of Mṣr and 'Ashr and the other side of the River in the first wazîrate of . . . of Rd'a, founded, and built and dedicated to the god 'Athtar עתתר of Ḳbdh a tower called Tn'a out of the offerings to the god. The text goes on to say that the god, with his fellow deities Wd[d] ود and Nkrkh נכרח, showed their gratitude to their devotees for the building of the tower by protecting their camel caravans from the attacks made by the men of Sba שבא and Khwln חולן, and by saving them, and their goods, and their camels in the war between Ma'in מען, and Rgmt רגמת, and in the war which took place between the lord of the South and the lord of the North. Further, the gods are thanked in the text for having saved the merchants and their goods out of the midst of Mṣr in the war which took place between Mdy and Mṣr, and for having preserved them safe and sound even unto the borders of their city Ḳrnw קרנו. From the above facts there is nothing which can be deduced to prove the existence of an Arabian Mṣr, and there is nothing which need prevent us from regarding the Mṣr there mentioned as Egypt. Whether 'Ashr is to be identified with Assyria, as Dr. Winckler and others have thought, is doubtful, since there are districts in Arabia and Palestine, the names of which could be equally well represented by the letters אאשר. We must then agree, with Hartmann, that the war between Mdy and Mṣr was a war between Media and Egypt, which can be nothing but the war between Cambyses

and Psammetichus III. This is all that can be found in the inscription which Dr. Winckler chooses to regard as a chronicle of the wars between Meluḫḫa-Ma'in and its northern dependency, the third Muṣri, and Assyria under Sargon.[1] With the correct dating of the Minaean inscriptions the theory of the great antiquity of the "Minaean Empire" falls to the ground. There is, of course, no proof that Ma'in ever existed as a conquering power at all. Chiefs of Ma'in, no doubt, existed in the VIIIth Century B.C., but we must always remember that Ma'in was situated in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, some hundreds of miles away from the vague and shadowy *locus* assigned by Dr. Winckler to his Muṣri, and from Philistia.

We now see that since the Minaean kingdom cannot be shown to be any older than the VIth Century B.C., and since the "Minaean Empire" probably never existed, the reason given by Dr. Winckler for the struggles between the people of Muṣri and the Assyrians having taken place in Philistia will not stand the test of criticism; no confirmation of the existence of his third Muṣri can be obtained from Arabian sources, and since we have shown that his supposed Assyrian evidence fails him, we have no option but to

[1] The identification of the place called Ghazzat, mentioned in the inscription No. 1083, with Gaza in Palestine, may be correct, but it does not support Dr. Winckler's dating in any special way, since caravans have passed from Egypt to the East through Gaza from time immemorial.

regard the Muṣri of the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III. and Sargon and Sennacherib as Egypt, and Egypt only.

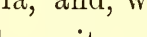
Could it be shown, however, that two distinct countries of the name Mṣr, one of which was undoubtedly Egypt, were mentioned in close juxtaposition in the same Assyrian text, we should have, despite the arguments which we have brought against it, a direct presumption in favour of the correctness of Dr. Winckler's theory of the existence at no very great distance from the eastern frontier of Egypt of another country of the same name, i.e., Mṣr. Now Dr. Winckler has attempted to show that we do possess evidence of this kind. In *Muṣri*, p. 2, he publishes a copy of a small fragment of an Assyrian tablet[1] (83–1–18, 836) in which he declares he has found mention of Muṣri side by side with Miṣ[ri], i.e., Egypt; this is said to occur in line 4, which Dr. Winckler transcribes as



(mâtu) Mu - uṣ - ri u (mâtu) Mi - iṣ-[ri.

Now it is evident from this transcription that his proof is based upon his reading of the last character  as IṢ; if this be wrong his argument falls to the ground. And as a matter of fact it is wrong, for the wedges,  , which actually remain on the fragment, are in

[1] As it mentions the name of Esarhaddon it cannot be much older than the reign of this king.

reality part of the well-known sign *luḫ*  , and the name is therefore not Mi-iṣ-[ri] but Mi-luḫ-[ḫa]. Every Assyriologist knows that Muṣri and Miluḫḫa are constantly mentioned together; we have already seen that there is no proof that any country called Muṣri existed in Arabia, and, whether Miluḫḫa be in Arabia or not, we can be quite certain that the Muṣri which is so often mentioned in connexion with it is Egypt and Egypt only. We may note in passing that in this small fragment containing portions of six broken lines Dr. Winckler's copy contains one serious blunder (pa-na for [DINGIR].ALAD, see Brünnow, *List*, No. 6230), and one serious omission, viz., of the determinative prefix before the proper name in line 5. There are on the fragment also in line 1 traces of  before Esarhaddon's name, which are omitted by Dr. Winckler, and after *ša* in line 3 we must read  *ina lib-bi* instead of the confused fragments of characters which are given by Dr. Winckler. We see then that there is no evidence whatsoever for the existence of a third country of the name Muṣri in Northern Arabia. Dr. Winckler's belief in it arose from the totally unwarranted deduction which he made from the episode of Idibi'ilu, and he was misled by the groundless assumptions of Dr. Glaser in respect of the age of the Minaean inscriptions; finally he was betrayed into a serious blunder by his own inexperience in the reading and copying of Assyrian texts.

Dr. Winckler is obliged to admit that in the time

of Esarhaddon Muṣri does occasionally mean Egypt, although he discovers that his Arabian Muṣri is mentioned several times in inscriptions of Esarhaddon; but if the arguments adduced above be correct the southern Muṣri referred to by Esarhaddon is, as in the previous cases, Egypt and Egypt only.

Dr. Winckler's further supposition[1] that, because Arabians are mentioned in 2 Chronicles xxi. 16 as being "at the side of the Cushites," עַל יַד־כּוּשִׁים, therefore these Cushites must have been Arabians, is unnecessary. The phrase is one which might well be used as a vague topographical indication by a chronicler not necessarily well acquainted with minute points of geography; starting from the north he speaks of the Arabs as being next to the Philistines, and of Ethiopia as being at the side of Arabia, which is a perfectly natural though vague description. In connexion with this it must also be said that there is no proof that the Cushites who followed Zerah (2 Chronicles xiv. 9) were, as Dr. Winckler says, Arabs, or anything else than Ethiopians whom they have always been considered to be. Again, Dr. Winckler quotes[2] the fragment of a tablet (Rm. 284) in which Esarhaddon refers to Kûsi (Cush) in a connexion which is uncertain. The broken text seems to mean that Esarhaddon sent messengers to the "city," , of Kûsi, and he appears to say that none of his ancestors had

[1] Winckler, *Muṣri*, pp. 46, 47.

[2] *Altorientalische Forschungen II.*, Bd. i., Heft i., p. 18.

ever done the like before on account of the distance or difficulty of the way. There is no reason for assuming that the Kûsi here mentioned is not Ethiopia. The use of the prefix  , which reads *alu*[1] and means literally "city," may indicate that Esarhaddon's ambassadors were sent to the capital city of Kûsi, probably Napata, or may have been employed in a loose manner by the Assyrian scribe. Dr. Winckler's argument that Kûsi cannot be "the land of Taharḳa," because that king was himself in Egypt at the time, and so would receive ambassadors at Memphis, and not at Napata, is of no weight, because Tirhâḳâh may have temporarily returned to his southern capital and the Assyrian ambassadors may have followed him thither. All that this broken text indicates is well known from other sources, viz., that no Assyrian king ever sent an embassy to Ethiopia before Esarhaddon's time, or ever came into contact with the Ethiopians in their own country. The fragment Rm. 284 therefore in no way supports Dr. Winckler's theory of the existence of an Arabian Cush, and Prof. Cheyne is not justified in assuming[2] that it does. Prof. Cheyne's remark to the effect that "this is illustrated by the description which Esarhaddon gives in a fragment of his Annals" of the desert which lies between Egypt and Meluḫḫa, and

[1] I transcribe by *alu* advisedly; Dr. Winckler transcribes the sign as "mḫz," but without sufficient authority.

[2] *Encycl. Bibl.* iii. Art. *Mizraim*, col. 3165.

which he assumes to be in Arabia, is not justified, as this description, as well as that given in Isaiah xxx. 6, 7, which according to Prof. Cheyne "really refers to the flight of Ḫanunu of Gaza to Pir'u, king of the N. Arabian Muṣri," may equally well refer to the desert between Egypt and Palestine. The final argument for the existence of an Arabian Cush which is given by Prof. Cheyne from Dr. Winckler's *Muṣri* (ii. 2), viz., that the phrase in Esarhaddon's account of his tenth campaign, "I caused my face to take (the road) to the "country of . . . . which (is called) in the language "of the men of the land of Kûsi and of the land of "Muṣur"[1] can "hardly refer . . . to Ethiopia and "Egypt" because "the order of the names would have "been the reverse," is valueless, for there is no reason for expecting the scribe to mention the countries referred to in any particular geographical order. Thus the theory of the existence of an Arabian Cush appears less probable than that of the existence of an Arabian Muṣri.

The reader has now before him a specimen of the way in which archaeological theories are formed by a certain class of German critics, and how they are adopted by scholars of the great reputation of Prof. Cheyne; in the instance cited Prof. Cheyne has not, unfortunately, verified the grounds on which the theory is said to be based, and he has not compared Dr. Winckler's results with the original Assyrian texts

[1] See my *Esarhaddon*, p. 117.

from which they are declared ultimately to be derived. In the above paragraphs we have not called attention to Dr. Winckler's mistakes in any carping spirit, for every Assyriologist knows how easy it is to make mistakes in copying and collating texts; but in the case of an Assyriologist whose work is accepted without question by one of the foremost of English Biblical critics, and is used as a base for the construction of an utterly revolutionary general theory as to the early history of Palestine and Arabia, which also carries with it an entirely new conception of the real contents of the greater number of the books of the Old Testament, his false assumptions, illogical deductions, and direct mistakes in copying Assyrian texts, assume a gravity which they would not otherwise possess. Whether Dr. Winckler merits the encomium which Prof. Cheyne bestows upon his work in general in his extraordinary article in the *Nineteenth Century* for January, 1902 (pp. 60–70), is a matter of opinion, but in the light of the facts discussed above it seems absolutely necessary to use Dr. Winckler's Assyrian work with extreme caution. This Prof. Cheyne and others have not done. Whatever may be the value of Dr. Winckler's Hebrew scholarship the fact remains that the whole of the Muṣri-Cush edifice of theory in reality rests upon Assyrian sources; but for the alleged Assyrian evidence Dr. Winckler and Prof. Cheyne would never have seen the "frequent confusion in the Massoretic text of the "Old Testament between Misraim or Egypt, and Misrim

"or Musri in North Arabia," [1] which, inasmuch as we have shown that "Misrim or Musri" is an imaginary country, cannot be regarded as having any real existence. Since then the Muṣri-Cush theory is based upon Assyriological evidence, it should not have been assumed to be correct without the verification of this evidence.

Assyriologists have done a great deal of good work in connexion with Bible exegesis in the past, and Prof. E. B. Schrader has shown how useful an ally Assyriology can become when interpreted by a competent critic. Prof. Cheyne is therefore well advised in seeking to use as fully as possible the latest results of Assyriological research, but in every progressive study new theories need careful sifting and testing, and should not be blindly accepted merely because they are new, or startling, or calculated to offend the susceptibilities of scholars possessing less revolutionary views. Much, too, has been done in clearing away many of the difficulties and obscurities of the Massoretic text of the Old Testament by advanced critics like Prof. Cheyne himself, but the value of textual criticism also has its limits, and it is self-evident that its usefulness ceases when it casts to the winds all consideration of historical and geographical probabilities, and suspects the existence of universal corruption in the Hebrew text. Dr. Winckler's wild theories have already brought discredit upon Assyriology, a fact which is to be deplored, and

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, Jan. 1902, p. 69.

their adoption and promulgation by Prof. Cheyne cannot but increase the number of those who already view with distrust the really good work which has been done by the ablest of the "higher critics," and who doubt the genuine progress which they have made. The effect upon the lay mind of wild theories thus put forward by irresponsible critics is not hard to foresee, and it is certain that they will not tend to advance the true interests either of Assyriology or of the "higher criticism" of the Old Testament.

The curious reader, who is anxious to see the views of other writers upon the work and methods of Dr. Winckler and the adoption of his results by Prof. Cheyne, may consult a review of the third volume of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* in *Nature* for June 26th, 1902, and a review of two other Biblical works signed R. C. T[hompson] in a number of the same periodical a few weeks later.

E. A. Wallis Budge.

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ERRATA.

Page 152, l. 4, *for* Misroch *read* Nisroch.

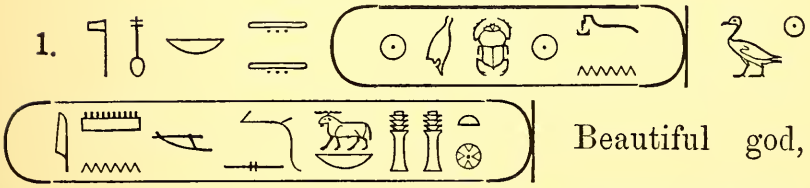
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EGYPT UNDER THE PRIEST-KINGS AND TANITES AND NUBIANS.

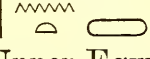
CHAPTER I.

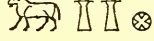
THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY.

I. KINGS OF TANIS.

1.  Beautiful god, lord of the two lands, Rā-ḥetch-kheper-setep-en-Rā, son of the Sun, Åmen-mer-Nes-ba Ṭeṭṭeṭet.

Nes-ba-Ṭeṭet, or Nes-ba-neb-Ṭeṭ, the first of the Tanite kings of the XXIst Dynasty, was possibly a descendant of Rameses II., who had, with the help of the nobles of the Delta, succeeded in establishing himself as king of Egypt at the time when Ḥer-Ḥeru, the high priest of Åmen, was struggling for royal power at Thebes; he is to be identified with the Smendes, Σμένδης, of the King List of Manetho and, according

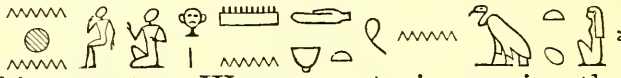
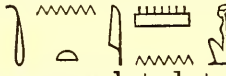
to this writer, reigned twenty-nine years.[1] The Smendes of Manetho was formerly identified with Ḥer-Ḥeru the high priest of Åmen, because it was thought that this name was the Greek equivalent of the Egyptian "Sa Åmen," i.e., "son of Åmen," which was one of Ḥer-Ḥeru's titles, but this view is now proved to be wrong. The only monument of the reign of this king is a stele which was discovered by M. G. Daressy in 1888 at Dahabîyeh, opposite to Gebelên, the  , Ånt, of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, in Upper Egypt, from which we obtain some very interesting information. From the text of the stele,[2] which is sadly mutilated, we learn that the lake which Thothmes III. excavated at Thebes, and the canal from the Nile which fed it, had by some means become emptied, and that the water, which ought to have remained in these places, had run out and spread itself about one of the main buildings at Thebes, and had soaked into the ground to such a degree that the edifice was in imminent danger of falling down. The building threatened in this manner was a portion of the temple of Luxor, which was built by Åmen-ḥetep III. As soon as the king, who was living in Memphis at the

[1] Ba-Ṭeṭ,  , we know = the Greek Μενδης, and Nes-ba-Ṭeṭ,  = Σμενδης.

[2] See *Les Carrières de Gébéléin et le roi Smendès* in the *Recueil*, tom. x. p. 133 ff.

time, in order to perform certain ceremonies in connexion with the worship of Ptaḥ, and Sekhet, and Menthu, and the other gods, heard of the accident, he sent an order to the south that masons should be gathered together, and that they should go with 3000 of his own men ("3000 of the chosen servants of his majesty"),  , to the great quarry opposite Gebelên, and quarry stone there to repair the damage which the water had done to the temple of Thebes. The text states that the quarry had not been worked for a very long time, and from the fact that the only other inscription there dates from the time of Seti I. it would seem that the quarry had remained unworked for a period of about three hundred and fifty years. The workmen repaired the chapel of the goddess Menth, the lady of Tcherti,  ,[1] and worked with great diligence in the quarry, for the king's command was urgent; apparently they were divided into gangs, each of which worked for a month, turn and turn about, a system which reminds us of the *corvée* of modern times. When the work was done it seems that the king himself, like the god Thoth, came and gave gifts to those who had been employed upon it, in return for their diligent labour. The inscription which supplies these details is, unfortunately, undated, and it does not tell

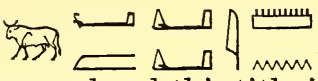
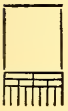
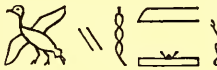
[1] The modern site of the town is Taud, a few miles south of Luxor.

us exactly what buildings were restored by Ba-neb-Ṭeṭ, or Smendes; but the work of restoration must have been one of considerable magnitude, for the whole country of the south seems to have supplied workmen, and it is said that even the infant at his mother's breast,  , helped his parents. We may note in passing that the power of Ba-neb-Ṭeṭ must have been widespread in Egypt, and it is clear that he was able to make his authority felt as far south as Gebelên; that it was he and not Ḥer-Ḥeru who gave the orders for the repair or rebuilding of the damaged temple proves that Ḥer-Ḥeru recognized and bowed before the might of the king at Tanis. The wife of Nes-ba-Ṭeṭ was called Thent-Åmen,  , a name that suggests that the queen was related to the old kings of Egypt, and that through her the king of Tanis had a just claim to the throne.

2. 

Rā-āa-kheper-setep-en-Mentu, son of the Sun, Åmen-meri-Pa-seb-khā-nut.

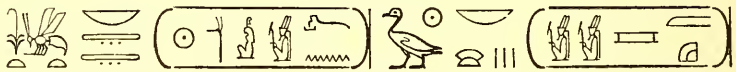
Pasebkhānut, the second of the Tanite kings of the XXIst Dynasty, is to be identified with the Ψουσέννης of Manetho, but there is no monumental evidence for the statement made by this writer that he reigned forty-one years; his Horus name was "Mighty Bull, gift (?)

of Åmen,"  , but he does not appear to have enclosed this title in the ordinary *serekh*,  . As far as can be seen he was the contemporary of the priest-kings Pai-ānkh,  ; Pai-netchem I.,  ; and Masaherth,  . The monuments of this king are very few, and consist for the most part of objects which have been found at Tanis.[1] The building operations undertaken by Pasebkhānut were unimportant, but he caused his name to be inscribed upon the so-called Hyksos statues and Sphinxes, which now, however, must be regarded as monuments of Åmenemḥāt III., a king of the XIIth Dynasty. The Sphinx was first usurped by the Hyksos king Åpep, then by king Mer-en-Ptaḥ, and lastly by Pasebkhānut, who erased the name of Mer-en-Ptaḥ[2] so that he might place his own name in the place of honour. To the period of Pasebkhānut I. also belong the remarkable statues of the Niles of the South and North, now preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo. These statues stand side by side and each carries before it a table of offerings, from which hang fish and flowers; the material of which they are made is a very hard, heavy, green serpentine stone, but this has not

[1] See Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 537.

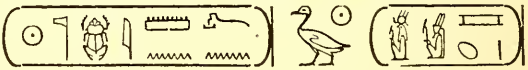
[2] Maspero, *Guide*, p. 65 (No. 107).

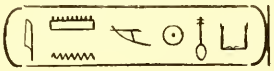
prevented the sculptor from producing a striking monument. The peculiar style of the figures induced Mariette to assign them to the period of the Hyksos kings, but this cannot be, and M. Maspero is probably right when he says[1] that the sculptor was influenced by the monuments of the time of Àmenemḥāt III., which he saw round about him, and that the firm mouths and high cheek-bones, and the peculiar treatment of the hair and beard, are due to this fact. Pasebkhānut I. was, according to Manetho, succeeded by a king called *Νεφελχερής*[2] who reigned four years; his name has not yet, however, been identified in the hieroglyphic texts. It has been thought that the Greek name may be a form of the Egyptian Nefer-ka-Rā,[3] which occurs in the nomen assigned by some to the king whose prenomen was  .

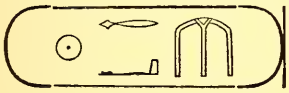
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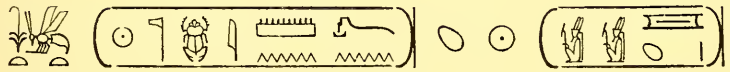
King of the South and North, lord of the two lands, RĀ-USR-MAĀT-SETEP-EN-ÀMEN, son of the Sun, lord of risings, ÀMEN-EM-ÀPT-MERI-ÀMEN.

[1] *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 764.

[2] Prof. Petrie thinks we ought to read Neter-kheper-Rā, and equates this king with  RĀ-NETER-KHEPER-SETEP-EN-ÀMEN, son of the Sun, SA-AMEN-MERI-RĀ. See *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1896, p. 58.

[3]  .

AMEN-EM-ÀPT, i.e., "Àmen in Karnak," was a descendant of Nes-ba-Ṭeṭ, and was rightly identified by Mariette with *Ἀμενωφθίς* of the King List of Manetho who is said to have reigned forty-nine years. He is depicted on the fragment of a stele, preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, in the act of offering incense to Isis, the great lady, the divine mother, who seems to have been his patron goddess; this fragment and the portion of another monument at Berlin were found at Memphis in the ruins of the temple which Khufu (Kheops) built in honour of his daughter.[1] Following *Ἀμενωφθίς* in the King List of Manetho come the kings *Ὀσοχώρ*, who is said to have reigned six years, and *Ψιναχῆς*, who is said to have reigned nine years; these names have not yet been identified in the hieroglyphic texts. According to Wiedemann,[2] we may identify Osochor with the king whose prenomen was  .[3]

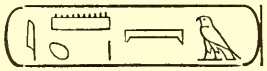
4. 

RĀ-NETER-KHEPER-SETEP-EN-ÀMEN, son of the Sun, SA-ÀMEN-MERI-ÀMEN.

[1] See Lepsius, *Die XXI. Manethonische Dynastie* (*Aeg. Zeit.*, 1882, p. 103 ff.); Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, plate 102, *b* and *c*; Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 540; Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, ii. p. 763.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 540.

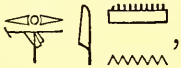
[3] Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, plate 103 D.

The next Tanite king of the XXIst Dynasty of whose existence we have monumental evidence is "SA-ÀMEN, the beloved of Àmen," of whom a number of remains are known; he reigned sixteen years. He has been wrongly identified with Ḥer-Ḥeru, the high priest of Àmen and first priest-king of the Theban XXIst Dynasty, who in addition to his name Ḥer-Ḥeru included in his second cartouche the title "Sa-Àmen,"  . Prof. Petrie also identified him[1] with Nefercheres, the third Tanite king of the XXIst Dynasty, but this identification must be abandoned, for the monumental name of this king is not yet known to us, and Rā-neter-kheper must be a later king of the dynasty. In the course of his excavations at Tanis Mariette found under the floor of the sanctuary, in the sand, a number of small gold and porcelain tablets inscribed with the name Sa-Àmen and the prenomen, etc., of this king,[2] a fact which proves that this king carried out the restoration of some parts of the temple built by Rameses II. in that city. He added his name in small characters to the two obelisks which were taken from Heliopolis to Alexandria, and which were sent later, the one to London and the other to New York,[3] and thus it would seem that Sa-Àmen exercised some authority in the ancient city of Ànnu or Heliopolis.

[1] See above, p. 6.

[2] *Notice des Principaux Monuments*, 1876, p. 205 (Nos. 551, 552).

[3] Lepsius, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1882, p. 104.

As his name has also been found on remains at Memphis it is pretty certain that he carried out some repairs in connexion with some portion of the temple of Ptaḥ. Among the small objects inscribed with his name may be mentioned the bronze sphinx from Tanis, now preserved in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris, whereon are inlaid in gold the prenomen and nomen of Sa-Åmen.[1] At Tanis[2] Prof. Petrie found several blocks of stone inscribed with the cartouches of Sa-Åmen; of special interest is one in which the king is represented in the act of adoring the ithyphallic god Åmsu-Åmen, or Min-Åmen,  , who declares that he will give him the "Nine Bows" (No. 149). From another block (No. 146) we learn that the king's Horus name was "Mighty Bull, beloved of Maāt," and that he proclaimed himself to be the issue of the god,  . The greatest of the architectural works of Sa-Åmen was the restoration, or rather rebuilding, of the pylons of the temple of Rameses II. at Tanis, and he rebuilt part of the sanctuary and its colonnade, and repaired the court, which had been allowed to fall into a serious state of decay.[3] The large wall of unbaked mud bricks which surrounded the temple seems to have been the work of Sa-Åmen and of his predecessor Pasebkhānut, though no bricks inscribed with the name of the former have as yet

[1] See Pierret, *Dict. d'Archéologie*, p. 516.

[2] *Tanis*, vol. ii. plate 8.

[3] Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 674.

been found. Sa-Ȧmen followed the example of Pasebkhānut, and had his name inscribed on several of the buildings, monuments, etc., which he repaired or restored, and, like him, he usurped certain striking ornaments of the temple, e.g., the granite sphinx which M. Naville saw[1] near its entrance.

5. 

Rā-ḥetch-ḥeq-....., son of the Sun, Ȧmen-meri-Ḥeru-pa-seb-khā-nut.

Pasebkhānut II. was the last king of the Tanite XXIst Dynasty, and reigned about twelve years; he distinguished himself from Pasebkhānut I. by adding Ḥeru to his name. According to Wiedemann, he is to be regarded[2] as the Pharaoh whose daughter was married and taken by king Solomon "into the city of "David, until he had made an end of building his own "house, and the house of the Lord" (1 Kings iii. 1), and who went up and took Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slew the Canaanites that dwelt in the city and gave the city "for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife" (1 Kings ix. 16). Maāt-ka-Rā, the daughter of Pasebkhānut II., married Osorkon I., the first king of the XXIInd Dynasty.

[1] See *Inscription Historique de Pinodjem III.*, Paris, 1883, p. 16.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 541; and see Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 764.

CHAPTER II.

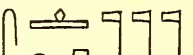
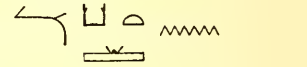
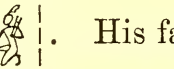
THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY.

II. KINGS OF THEBES.

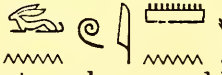
1. 

King of the South and North, high-priest of Åmen, son of the Sun, Sa-Åmen-Ḥer-Ḥeru.

Ḥer-Ḥeru was the third of the great high priests of Åmen who had directed the affairs of Upper Egypt during the reigns of the last kings of the XXth Dynasty, and he was the first member of the brotherhood of Åmen who assumed royal rank and position. From the reliefs which are found in the temple of Khensu at Thebes we learn that he assumed royal rank during the lifetime of Rameses XII., and that he was appointed "royal prince of Kesh" in Nubia; he wears the uraeus on his forehead as if he had been the descendant of kings, and his apparel resembles that of his royal master. In the texts which accompany these reliefs are enumerated a number of his titles and

offices, and we see that as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet he called himself "he who maketh the gods to be content,"  ; that as the Horus of gold his name was "Glorious in the Àpt,"  ; and that his Horus name was "Mighty Bull, son of Àmen." He adopted as king of the South and North the title "first priest of Àmen," which he enclosed in a cartouche, and as son of Rā he styled himself "Ḥer-Ḥeru Sa-Àmen." A common title of his was "Living, beautiful god, son of Àmen, lord of the two lands, lord of diadems." The king created him an "hereditary prince,"  , and he was the architect-in-chief of all the works in connexion with the buildings and monuments,  , of Thebes, and he was commander-in-chief of the soldiers,  . His father, Àmenḥetep, as we have already said, obtained for the priests of Àmen the power to levy taxes on the people, and now that Ḥer-Ḥeru added to this the command of the soldiers, we see that all real power was in the hands of the high priest of Àmen, and that for some time before his death Rameses was only king in name. Ḥer-Ḥeru married a princess of the royal line called Netchemet,  . She was believed by Champollion, Lepsius, and de Rougé to have been his wife and the mother of his children, but in 1878 M. Naville enunciated

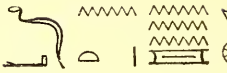
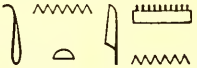
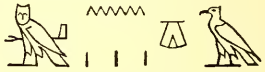
the proposition that Netchemet was not the wife but the mother of Ḥer-Ḥeru;[1] subsequently, however, MM. Maspero and Wiedemann have shown satisfactory proofs of the correctness of the older view.[2] Ḥer-Ḥeru was a contemporary of Nes-ba-Ṭeṭ, or Nes-ba-neb-Ṭeṭ, the Smendes of Manetho, but we do not know how far their reigns overlapped; Ḥer-Ḥeru reigned sixteen years, and we know that he must have been on comparatively friendly terms with Nes-ba-Ṭeṭ, for this king gave one of the officers of the king of the South considerable help in a mission on which he had been sent.

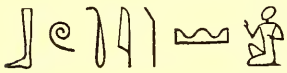
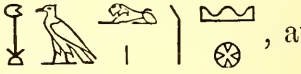
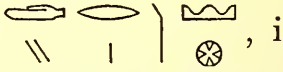
From an extremely interesting papyrus in the collection of M. W. Golénischeff,[3] we learn that in the fifth year of his reign, on the sixteenth day of the third month of the inundation, Ḥer-Ḥeru despatched the priest official Unu-Àmen,  , to Syria to fetch wood for the "great and venerable boat of Àmen-Rā, the king of the gods." Unu-Àmen set out

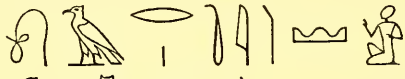
[1] *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1878, p. 29 f.

[2] See Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 648 ff. and p. 677 ff. The mummy of this queen and her coffins were found at Dêr al-Baḥarî; in the inscriptions she is called  .

[3] See Golénischeff in *Recueil*, tom. xv. p. 88; Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 395; Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 582; Erman, *Aeg. Zeit.*, 1900, p. 1 ff.; a transcript of the hieratic text with a French translation, both by Golénischeff, will be found in *Recueil*, vol. xxi. p. 74 ff.

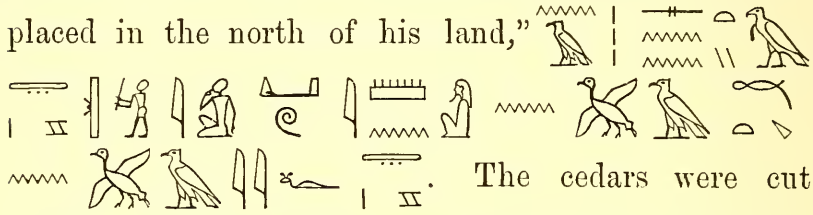
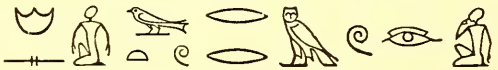
from Thebes and went to Tanis,  , to the king Nes-su-ba-neb-Ṭeṭ,  , and his wife Thent-Àmen,  , and he read before them the letters which, presumably, he had brought from his master the king of the South to the king of the North. When Nes-su-ba-neb-Ṭeṭ had heard the letters read he promised to do what was asked in them. From this it is clear that the two kings were on sufficiently friendly terms for one to write to the other and ask him to forward the mission of his envoy. Unu-Àmen stayed some days at Tanis, and then set out by sea with Mānḳabuthà, 

 , for Syria,  , and in due course he arrived at Tir,  , i.e., Dôr (?), which is described as a city of Tchakare,  , and was at that time ruled by a king called Baṭir or Baṭil,  , a name which suggests some Phœnician name like Bod-Ilu. Here he stayed for a few days, and whilst he was laying in a stock of provisions sufficient to last him until he arrived at his destination his crew stole all the money which he had brought with him to buy wood, and he was left penniless; in this strait he appealed to the king of Dôr (?) for help to track the thieves, telling

him at the same time that part of the money belonged to the god Àmen-Rā, part to Ḥer-Ḥeru, and part to Nes-ba-neb-Ṭeṭ, and that a portion of it was intended to make presents to Uarethà,  , and Mākamāle,  , and Tchakare-Bār,  , the prince of Kepna,  , i.e., Byblos.

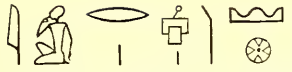
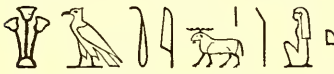
The king of Dôr (?) pretended to make search for the thieves, but day after day passed and the thieves and the money were not forthcoming; at first he treated Unu-Àmen with great consideration, and sent him presents of wine, and bread, and beef, but subsequently he behaved with some harshness towards him. Baṭir was, no doubt, well acquainted with what had become of the money, but, seeing that Unu-Àmen was there without funds and friends, he was anxious to drive him out of his territory by harsh treatment. At length Unu-Àmen sent a messenger to Egypt, who brought back fresh supplies, and finally he was able to go to Byblos and to negotiate for the Lebanon trees,  , i.e., cedar trees,[1] which were cut down and stacked upon the beach ready for shipment. The messenger whom Unu-Àmen sent to Egypt was his scribe, and it is interesting to note that he does not call Nes-ba-neb-Ṭeṭ

[1] Golénischeff is quite correct in deriving *Lubuluna* from the Hebrew לְבָנוֹן "Lebanon."

"king" or "prince," but he refers to him and to his wife Thent-Àmen as "the guardians whom Àmen hath placed in the north of his land,"  . The cedars were cut down by 300 men, who brought down the trunks to the sea-shore by means of 300 oxen. At length the ships were loaded with the cedars and Unu-Àmen was ready to sail for Egypt, when suddenly there put into the harbour at Byblos a fleet of eleven ships belonging to the Tchakaru,  , pirates, and it seems that when the captains of these learned that Tchakare-Bār (Zakar-Baal) was despatching Unu-Àmen to Egypt with his ships laden with cedar wood, they made a violent disturbance and declared that no ship should set sail for Egypt, and they wanted to have Unu-Àmen cast into prison, on the ground that he had accused wrongly some of their kinsmen of stealing his goods at Dôr, and had maltreated them. At this untoward occurrence Unu-Àmen sat down and wept aloud,  .

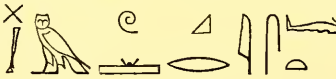
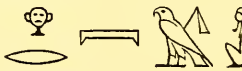
Whilst he was in this state of grief the king of Byblos sent his messenger to ask him what was the matter, and pointing to the ships of the pirates he remarked that even the wild fowl could fly to Egypt, but he was detained at Byblos. When these words were reported

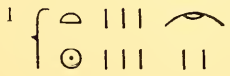
to Tchakare-Bār he wept, and to console Unu-Ȧmen he sent him two vessels of wine, a young goat, and an Egyptian dancing girl,  , called Thent-Nut,  , whom he kept by him "to sing him songs so that his heart might not be "sad, and that he might not weary himself overmuch "with the cares and troubles of state." With these gifts the king sent a message, saying, "Eat and drink, "and let not thy heart be wearied with cares, for thou "shalt hear in the morning what I am going to do "to-morrow." On the following day he assembled the men of Tchakaru and asked them what they wanted, and they told him that they had come for the ships which he was about to send to Egypt manned by their miserable companions, and that they wanted him to arrest Unu-Ȧmen. Tchakare-Bār straightway told them that he had no power to detain the envoy of Ȧmen in his country and that he would not do so, and then went on to say in characteristic Oriental fashion that they must let him despatch Unu-Ȧmen to Egypt by ship, and that when the envoy of Ȧmen had embarked and set sail they might if they liked pursue him and capture him on the high seas. In this fashion he appeased their wrath and got himself out of a serious difficulty. What happened among the Tchakaru sailors after Unu-Ȧmen had sailed we know not, but a storm seems to have arisen, which drove the ship wherein was the Egyptian envoy to the Island of Cyprus (?),

 . When Unu-Àmen landed the people of Cyprus came out and wanted to kill him, but they at length took him to their queen Ḥathàba,  , whom they met as she was going from one house to another. Unu-Àmen saluted the queen and asked those who were about him if there was any one present who knew the language of Egypt, and when one replied that he did Unu-Àmen told him to tell the queen that he had heard a saying everywhere, even as far away from Cyprus as the city of Àmen (i.e., Thebes), to the effect that injustice was done in every country, and that only in Cyprus was justice done, but that injustice was being wrought that day in Cyprus. He then appealed to the queen and told her that it was the fury of the winds and waves which had driven him to her island, and he besought her not to allow her people to seize him and kill him, because he was an envoy of Àmen; he also pointed out that if the crew of his ship from Byblos were killed by the people of Cyprus, the king of Byblos would certainly kill any man of Cyprus whom he might happen to find in his territory. On hearing this the queen gave her people orders not to kill Unu-Àmen, but as the papyrus breaks off here we know nothing of his further adventures.

The principal interest of the above narrative consists in the light which it throws upon the relations existing between Ḥer-Ḥeru and Nes-ba-Ṭeṭ, and

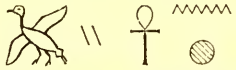
upon the general condition of Syria, from which country we see that all remains of the power of Egypt had now disappeared. It is clear either that Ḥer-Ḥeru had not realized this fact or that he was very unbusinesslike, otherwise he would never have sent a priestly official with a considerable sum of money about him to buy trunks of cedar trees from the king of Byblos, who was necessarily in league with all the maritime peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean.

One of the chief works of the reign of Ḥer-Ḥeru was carried out in connexion with the repair and removal of the royal mummies of the kings of the XVIIth, XVIIIth, XIXth, and XXth Dynasties from their tombs into the place of safety called in modern times Dêr al-Baḥarî. He found that it was hopeless to attempt to restrain the robbers of the dead from their unholy work, and that the only way in which the destruction of the mummies could be prevented was to remove them from their tombs. In the sixth[1] year of his reign he caused the mummies of Seti I. and Rameses II. to be rebandaged,  , and there is no doubt many other mummies were repaired and provided with new coffins about the same time. Ten years later Ḥer-Ḥeru,  , who styled himself Sa-Ámen,  , removed

[1]  .

the mummies of Rameses I., Seti I., and Rameses II. to the tomb of queen Ȧn-Ḥāpu from the tomb of Seti I., which proves that Rameses I. and Rameses II. must have been taken from their own tombs and laid for safety in the tomb of Seti I. at some earlier period. The mummy of Seti I. was again repaired in the seventh year of the reign of Men-Kheper-Rā, the high priest of Ámen, and three years later both it and the mummy of Rameses II. were removed from the tomb of Ȧn-Ḥāpu to that of Ȧmen-ḥetep I.[1] Curiously enough, the mummy of Ḥer-Ḥeru himself has never been found. Ḥer-Ḥeru carried out some building operations in connexion with the temple of Khensu at Karnak, many of the walls of which he covered with inscriptions of a purely religious character; he built a court and provided the pylon with eight flag-staffs. On one of the walls of the court are representations of the sons and daughters of his large family.[2]

The successor of Ḥer-Ḥeru as high priest of Ȧmen-Rā, the king of the gods, was—

2.  Pai-Ānkh,

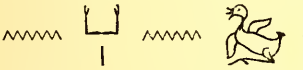
of the details of whose life nothing is known; he was, however, chief steward of Ámen, and he was priest of the goddess Mut and of her son Khensu before he became high priest of Ȧmen. M. Maspero believes[3]

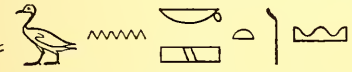
[1] The texts which are the authorities for these statements are published by Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 551 ff.

[2] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. pll. 247, 248.

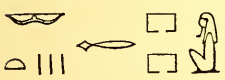
[3] *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 760.

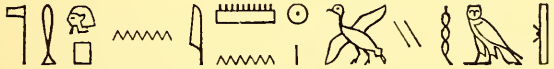
that the only known monument of this high priest's reign, if, indeed, he ever reigned, is the stele preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo, which was published by Mariette in *Abydos*, tom. ii. pl. 57. The high priest is seated on a chair and before him is a table of offerings; above is Rā seated in a shrine placed in a boat, and the five lines of inscription mention a "fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, royal "scribe, general of bowmen, etc.," but at the same time the "perfect soul of Rā, prince, Pa-ānkh of the bowmen of Pharaoh," is mentioned. The inscription presents some difficulties and is as follows:—

1.  .

2.  . 3. 

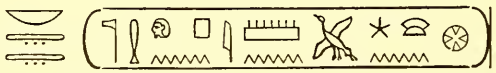


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3.  High priest of Åmen-Rā, PAI-NETCHEM.

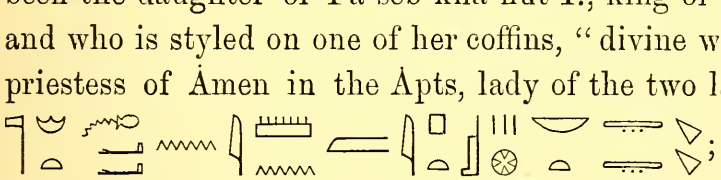
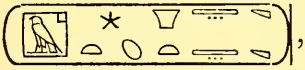
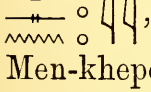
PAI-NETCHEM I. was the son of Pai-ānkh, and the grandson of Ḥer-Ḥeru, and he attained to the high rank of king of the South; his father, apparently, had never

been actually king of the South but only acted as viceroy during the absence of his father Ḥer-Ḥeru from his capital. Pai-netchem I., who reigned about twenty-one years, styled himself at first "governor "of the city, commander-in-chief of the army of the "South and the North," and later he called himself the "lord of the two lands,"  , and "king of the South and North,"  . His Horus name seems to have been "he who satisfieth the gods, he who performeth glorious things for their doubles,"  . There is no doubt that Pai-netchem I. was the successor of his father Pai-ānkh, notwithstanding the fact that the Tanite king Pasebkhānut I. included the title "high priest of Àmen" in one of his cartouches.[1] In the temple of Khensu at Thebes we see Pai-netchem I. represented in two distinct characters; in one he is the high priest of Àmen, and nothing more, and most of his titles already enumerated belong to him as high priest, governor of Thebes, etc., but in the other he is both high priest and king, and we learn from the texts which accompany his figures that he adopted new titles, etc. Thus in his last dual capacity his Horus name was "Mighty Bull, beloved of Àmen," and the cartouches which he employed read as follows :—

[1]  . See Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 587; and Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 679.



Rā-kheper-khā-setep-en-Åmen, son of the Sun, Åmen-meri-Pai-netchem.

For some time Pai-netchem the high priest and Pai-netchem the king were considered to be two distinct persons, but it is now generally believed that they were one and the same person. Pai-netchem I. married the lady Maāt-ka-Rā,  , who appears to have been the daughter of Pa-seb-khā-nut I., king of Tanis, and who is styled on one of her coffins, "divine wife, *āb* priestess of Åmen in the Åpts, lady of the two lands,"  ; in the same coffin was found the mummy of an infant daughter of the queen who was called Mut-em-hāt,  . The queen must have died in child-bed, and the little princess probably died soon after she was born.[1] Another wife of Pai-netchem I. was Ḥent-taui,  , the daughter of Nebseni,  , and Thent-Åmen, who became the mother of Men-kheper-Rā, the high priest of Åmen. The mummy of this lady, with her double coffin, was found at Dêr al-Baḥarî, and when it was unrolled on June 29, 1886, it was seen that every attempt had been made in the

[1] See Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 577.

process of mummification to preserve the aspect which the features wore during life. The skin of the face had been painted with ochre, touches of red paint had been placed on the cheeks, the lips had been coloured red, and even the eyes had been treated with some kind of eye-paint. The head rested in a much becurled wig, and the furrows made in the face by the process of mummification were filled up with paste.[1] Pai-netchem I. was mummified and was presumably buried in a grave which had been specially made for him, but his mummy was found in the famous hiding-place at Dêr al-Baḥarî, where it must have been removed for safety. It had been opened by the Arabs as far down as the breast, and several amulets, etc., had been carried away by them; but the lower part was intact, and his *Book of the Dead* was found rolled up between his legs.[2] Pai-netchem undertook the repairs of several of the royal mummies, e.g., Åmen-ḥetep I., Thothmes II., Rameses II., Rameses III., and he provided places of safety for the mummies of Åāḥmes I., and Sa-Åmen, and other royal persons, having taken them out of their tombs.

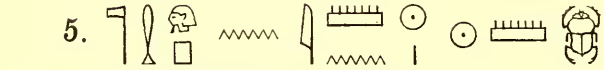
4.  MASAHERTH.

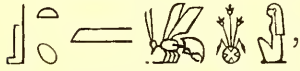
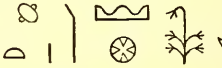
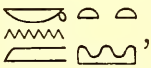
MASAHERTH was the son of the high priest and king Pai-netchem I., and he succeeded his father as high

[1] See Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 577. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 570.

priest of Ámen, but not as king; the inscriptions on his coffin describe him as "commander-in-chief of the soldiers of the lands of the South and North," and "commander-in-chief of the soldiers of the whole land," but he seems to have possessed neither Horus name nor any other title. How long he held the office of high priest of Ámen is unknown, but it cannot have been for any great length of time, for he was superseded by his brother Men-kheper-Rā, who had, by virtue of his mother's royal descent, a greater claim to the offices of high priest of Ámen and king of the South. The mummy of Masaherth was found at Dêr al-Baḥarî, and was unrolled on June 30th, 1886, when it was discovered that it had already been opened by the Arabs, who had torn the bandages into shreds, and stolen the amulets, etc., and carried off the papyrus. From the description of the physical characteristics of the man given by M. Maspero[1] he seems to have resembled his father in no way. On a wall in the temple of Ámen-ḥetep II. at Thebes is sculptured a scene in which Masaherth is represented adoring the god Ámen, and on a yellowish stone colossal hawk preserved at Brussels he is described as "prince, guide of the two lands,"  , and is said to be "beloved of Khensu."[2] He caused the mummy of Ámen-ḥetep I. to be re-bandaged and repaired.

[1] *Les Momies*, p. 571. [2] See Maspero, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, p. 133.

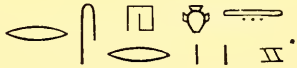
5.  High priest of Åmen-Rā, MEN-KHEPER-RĀ.

MEN-KHEPER-RĀ was the son of Pai-netchem I., and he superseded his brother Masaherth as high priest of Åmen; he married the lady Åst-em-khebit,  , and by her became the father of the high priest of Åmen, Pai-netchem II., Ḥent-taui, and other children. It seems that Men-kheper-Rā never exercised the functions of a king; the period during which he held the office of high priest of Åmen is unknown. The principal event in his life is narrated in a text on a stele, now preserved in the Museum of the Louvre, which was first translated by Brugsch.[1] From this stele, which is dated in the 21st or 25th year of Pai-netchem I., we learn that a revolt of a serious character broke out in Thebes some time during his reign, and that a number of the ringleaders and others were banished straightway to the Great Oasis, i.e., the "Oasis of the South,"  , or the Kenemtet,  , of the Egyptian inscriptions;[2] this act put an end to the revolt for a short time, but it in no way removed the cause of it. The rule of the later Rameses kings was bad enough, but that of the

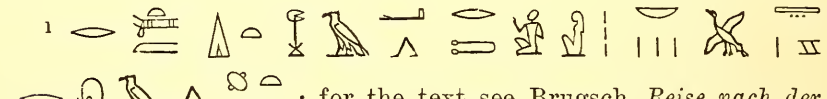
[1] *Reise nach der grossen Oase*, Leipzig, 1878, p. 84 ff.

[2] The most recent description of this Oasis is by Mr. J. Ball, and is published with maps, plans, etc., in *Kharga Oasis*, Cairo, 1900.

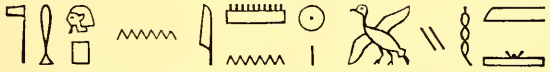
priest-kings was worse for the people, because the servants of Ámen neither waged wars which brought booty and tribute into the country, nor carried on trade on a large scale, as did Rameses III., whereby the people became rich; Ámen and his priests had absorbed everything in the country. If all the facts were known, we should probably find that the royal tombs were robbed simply because the poor people of Thebes had no other means of obtaining money to buy bread.

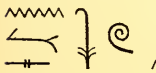
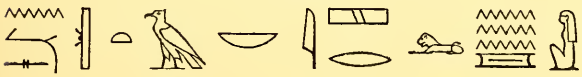
We have already seen how zealous was Pai-netchem in repairing and re-bandaging the royal mummies of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, and he seems to have decided that the only way to prevent the destruction of the tombs and their occupants was to deport to the Great Oasis the thieves and malcontents, and the poor who sympathized with them. Towards the end of the reign of Pai-netchem a further revolt broke out, and he despatched his son to the "south" with a strong force, and ordered him to put down the rising with a firm hand, and to restore peace to the distracted country,  . When Men-kheper-Rā arrived in Thebes the people welcomed him gladly, and the priests at once proceeded to induct him into the office of high priest of Ámen. The statue of the god was brought out from the temple, and a solemn procession was formed, and Men-kheper-Rā was proclaimed high priest of Ámen and commander-in-chief

of the soldiers. A short time afterwards, when the festival days of Isis and Åmen-Rā fell on New Year's Day, a solemn festival was kept, and the high priest offered up gifts before his god, and besought the god to permit the "hundreds of thousands,"  , of men who were in the Oasis,  , to be allowed to return to Egypt. The god granted his petition, and a decree was promulgated at once in the name of the god, which set forth not only that those who had been banished might return to Egypt, but that no man should in future be banished to the Oasis.[1] There can be no doubt that Men-kheper-Rā was compelled by force of circumstances to recall the banished folk from the Oasis, and that the publication of the decree and the description of the grant of consent by Åmen was only ordered to "save the face" of the harassed high priest of Åmen, who well knew that unless some measure of the kind was carried out at once the mob would rise and kill the priests and take the city of Thebes. Although we must regard the statement that there were "hundreds of thousands" of banished men in the Oasis as an exaggeration, yet these words indicate that the number of the banished was very large, and this fact forms an interesting comment on the rule of the priests of Åmen.

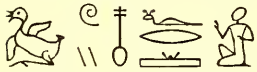
[1]  ; for the text see Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase*, plate 22, line 17.

The mighty warriors of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties did not find it necessary to banish men to the Oasis by thousands, for they took them with them to war, and when they were not fighting they set the people to build public buildings. The priests of Åmen were men who eschewed war and loved peace, and yet they found it necessary to pass sentences on the people such as were never passed by the Åmen-ḥeteps or the Thothmes. In the sixth and seventh years of his rule Men-kheper-Rā was occupied with the repair of certain of the royal mummies, and from two inscribed bandages,[1] which were found on the mummy of Seti I., we learn that at this time the old bandages were replaced by new ones, which appear to have been specially woven for the purpose.

6.  High priest of Åmen-Rā, PAI-NETCHEM.

PAI-NETCHEM II. was the son of Men-kheper-Rā and Åst-em-khebit; he married Nes-su-Khensu,  , and was by her the father of Åtaui,  ; Nes-taneb-Åsher,  ; Masahairethå,

[1] See Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 555.

 ; and Tchaui-nefer,  . He held the office of high priest for a few years at Thebes, and also that of commander-in-chief of the soldiers; but he seems not to have enjoyed the authority of king. His coffin and mummy were found at Dêr al-Baḥarî in 1881, and in 1886 both were opened and carefully examined;[1] on the coffin by the side of the legs is a thin plate of copper on which was stamped an inscription recording the high priest's name and titles. The bandaging of the mummy resembled that of Rameses III., and the linen of the swathings, as we learn from the inscriptions on them, was woven in the first, third, seventh, and ninth year of his rule. On the body were found two beautiful gold bracelets, inlaid with carnelian and lapis-lazuli, with gold fastenings made in the form of flowers. Round the neck were a number of amulets in *faïence*, carnelian, mother-of-emerald, lapis-lazuli, gold, etc., all of the finest and most beautiful workmanship. Beneath these were a large hard stone scarab and a golden hawk with outstretched wings. A papyrus, a little over seven feet in length and inscribed with several decrees of the god Åmen, was folded in two over the chest and body, and a *Book of the Dead*, rolled up, was laid between his legs. Of the events of the life of Pai-netchem II. nothing is known,

[1] See Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 571.

and it was probably uneventful. He had, like his predecessors, the high priests, no desire to make war, but he had no means whereby to fill the fast emptying coffers of his god Åmen, or even to pay for the necessary repairs of the huge mass of temple buildings which extended from Luxor to Karnak. There must have been some understanding arrived at by Ḥer-Ḥeru, the Theban high priest, and Nes-ba-Ṭeṭ, the Tanite king, by which the powers and the limit of the jurisdiction of each were defined, but it is quite clear that as the power of the high priests waned, that of the Tanite kings grew, and that the latter regarded the former as rulers only in name. Neither the Tanite kings nor the Theban priests did much for the country, and the little energy which both groups of rulers possessed seems to have been absorbed in repairing or beautifying the shrines of the gods whom they worshipped.

The high priests of Åmen left behind them a large number of most interesting funeral remains, and their papyri form a highly important class of literature; moreover, it must not be forgotten that it is to the devotion which they showed to the mummies of the great kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties that we owe the power to look upon the actual features of some of Egypt's mightiest warriors.

CHAPTER III.

THE NINETEENTH, TWENTIETH, AND TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTIES.—SUMMARY.

Owing to a number of misconceptions on the part of the Egyptologists who flourished in the first half of the XIXth century, it has been generally supposed that the period of the Ramessids marked the culminating point of Egyptian civilization, power, and influence, but this was not the case, for, as we have seen, Egypt reached the zenith of her power under the truly great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Thothmes III. and Âmen-ḥetep III. deserve the title "great" far more than Rameses II. The XIXth Dynasty marks the beginning of the decline of the power of Egypt, and the decline continued without break until the end of the period of the XXIst Dynasty, by which time Egypt had become like the "bruised reed" [1] to which she was compared in Holy Scriptures; this period of

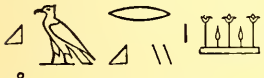
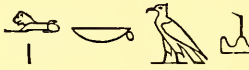
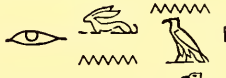
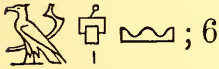
[1] "Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised "reed, *even* upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into "into his hand, and pierce it: so *is* Pharaoh, king of Egypt, unto "all that trust on him."—2 Kings xviii. 21.

decline lasted about three hundred years. Several causes contributed to the downfall of Egypt; among these the most important were the general corruption which resulted from the great wealth and luxury of the country; the persistent attacks upon Egyptian possessions in Palestine and the Delta by hostile foreigners, who were not slow to perceive the increasing impotence of Egypt; and most of all the blighting and benumbing effect of the influence of the priests of Ámen, which during this period gradually invaded and pervaded every part of the body politic, until at length the astute head of that wealthy and all-powerful confraternity seated himself upon the throne of Egypt as king. Whilst the people of Egypt were submitting to the never-ending claims of the priests of Ámen, and the king was demoralized by the excessive adulation of his court, the brave governors on the frontiers of the Empire could obtain no help from Egypt, and so, little by little, the conquests of the Thothmes and Ámenḥeteps were lost. In the XXIst Dynasty not only do we find Egypt confined to the Valley of the Nile, but even divided into two separate kingdoms of the South and North, as in the days of the Hyksos seven hundred years before.

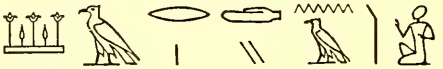
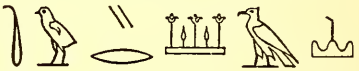
The most formidable foe of the Egyptians at the time of the XIXth Dynasty was the confederation of the Kheta tribes, which were known to the Assyrians as Khatti. Reference has already been made to the fact that these peoples had under the XVIIIth Dynasty

forced their way from Cappadocia in a southerly direction to the neighbourhood of Aleppo and Emesa, and by the time of Seti I. they had advanced still further south, and had reached a point so remote from their original home as the Valley of the Orontes and Litany, where the ancient Canaanitish city of Kadesh was occupied by them and turned into a base for further invasions. The result of the war between the Kheta and the Egyptians under Rameses II. was by no means favourable for the latter, for of the countries which had been annexed by Thothmes III. practically only Palestine remained to Egypt. The Kheta had absorbed the kingdom of Mitanni, the old Egyptian possessions of Neherna (Northern Mesopotamia), and Syria, and meanwhile Assyria, profiting by the wars between the Egyptians and the Kheta, and taking advantage of the weakness of Babylonia under the Kassite kings, was rapidly making her way to a position of absolute independence and great power. In passing it must be stated that the commonly accepted identification of the Kheta with the Hittites of the Bible is as yet unproved, since it rests only on the similarity between the Hebrew name Ḥêth, and the Egyptian name Kheta; on the other hand it may be readily conceded that the people who built the fortress temples of Baghaz-Köi and Eyuk belonged to the same race, if they were not actually the same people, as the Kheta depicted on the Egyptian monuments. The reasons for this view are based upon the identity of features and costume of the people

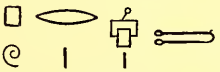
depicted on the reliefs of Eyuk with the Kheta of the Egyptian reliefs. The hieroglyphic inscriptions of the race to which the Kheta belonged, which have been called "Hittite," and which are declared to have been "read" and "translated" have not as yet been deciphered, and all deductions based upon such "readings" and "translations" are worthless for archaeological purposes.

Allied with the Kheta in their wars against Rameses II. were warriors belonging to several warlike tribes that lived on the southern coast of Asia Minor, and among such must be noted: 1. The Qarqisha, or Qalqisha,  ; 2. The Piṭasa,  ; 3. The Ruka or Luka,  ; 4. The Maunna,  ; 5. The Masa,  ; 6. Ṭarṭeni,  . The first of these tribes, the Qalqisha, seems to be undoubtedly the Cilicians, the termination *sha* representing the nominal termination in Lycian, the typical language of the ancient races of Asia Minor.[1] The Piṭasa are the Pisidians, the Ruka or Luka are the Lycians, as already mentioned, and it is probable that the Maunna, Masa, and Ṭarṭeni were the representatives, at that time, of the races known in later days as Maconians, Mysians, and Dardanians. The tribes

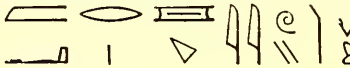
[1] The fact was first pointed out and discussed by Mr. H. R. Hall in his *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, page 178 f.

above mentioned, as well as many others from the same part of the world, were, however, not land warriors only, but also sea rovers, and the rich lands of the Egyptian Delta offered them a tempting prey. Accordingly we find that in the reign of Mer-en-Ptaḥ (Menephthah), i.e., about B.C. 1250, the Delta was attacked and overrun by a powerful confederacy of these tribes, who went there by sea, in alliance with hordes of Libyans who were temporarily united under the leadership of the warlike tribe of the Māshauasha. Among the "peoples of the sea" are enumerated the Shareṭina,  , whom we have already met with as mercenary soldiers in the reign of Åmen-ḥetep III., and who are probably to be identified with the Sardians of Lydia rather than with the Sardinians, as de Rougé somewhat wildly supposed; the Shakelesha,  , who have been rightly identified by M. Maspero with the Sagalassians; the Thuirsha,  , a tribe which came into close contact with the Egyptians in the XIXth Dynasty, and seems to have possessed settlements in Egypt,[1] but whose racial identity cannot be determined; and the Åqaiuasha,  , who were probably the representatives at that time of the race of

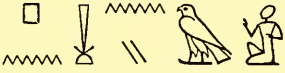
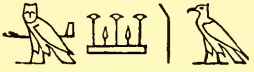
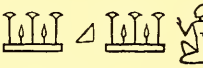
[1] The XIXth Dynasty foreign settlement at Gurob may well have been founded by this people.

the Achaians, though from what part of the Aegean they came cannot, of course, be stated. Other Mediterranean tribes not previously mentioned took part in the great expedition of the northerners against Egypt, which was defeated by Rameses III., about B.C. 1200, off the coast of Palestine, and among them may be mentioned the Tchakarei,  , and the Ṭaȧnȧu,  , or Ṭanȧuna,  , and the Pulsath,  . The Tchakarei and the Ṭaȧnȧu have been provisionally identified with the Teucrians and Danaans of the Aegean Sea, and the Pulsath are undoubtedly the Philistines, whose settlement on the coast of Palestine seems to have taken place in the period of the XIXth Dynasty. A very ancient and general tradition has always regarded this people as of Cretan origin, and this tradition finds considerable support in the results derived from modern archaeological investigations. The Ṭaȧnau or Ṭanȧuna, as has already been seen, possessed at least one settlement on the coast of Palestine as early as the reign of Khu-en-Ȧten, and the Tchakarei are found to be in possession of the city of Dor,  , in Palestine (see Joshua xi. 2) as late as the reign of Ḥer-Ḥeru, the high priest of Ȧmen and the first king of the XXIst Dynasty, about B.C. 1050, at which time

they seem to have been nothing more or less than a tribe of sea-robbers, with their head-quarters at Dor. It is probable that the Tchakarei and the Ṭanâuna, like the Pulsath, originally came from Crete.[1]

The northern tribes which attacked Egypt in the reign of Mer-en-Ptaḥ were in league with a confederacy of Libyans headed by the powerful tribe of the Māshauasha, which at that time was under the leadership of Mārmaiui,  , the son of Ṭiṭ,  ; taken as a whole these tribes were known to the Egyptians by the name of Āamu-Kehak. The Egyptian king claimed, naturally, to have totally defeated the confederate army, but the fact remains that from his time forward the Libyan population in the Delta increased considerably, and we know that the Māshauasha tribe in particular succeeded in establishing itself upon Egyptian territory. Officials and generals of Māshauasha origin are often mentioned in the texts, and eventually a Māshauasha called Shashanq, the descendant of a Libyan named Buiuuaua,  , ascended the throne of Egypt and founded the XXIInd Dynasty; the Psammetici of the XXVIth Dynasty were also of Libyan origin, and very probably were connected with the family of the Shashanq kings. A proof that the Māshauasha intermarried with the Egyptians is afforded

[1] See Hall, *Oldest Civilization*, p. 177.

by a coffin in the British Museum (No. 24,906), from which we learn that a man bearing the Egyptian name of Pen-sen-sen-Ḥeru,  , was a Māshauasha,  ,[1] and that he was the son of a Libyan called Shaqsha,  , and an Egyptian woman called Åmen-ḥetep. With the Nubians the Egyptians were more successful than with the Libyans, for during the whole of the period under discussion they managed to maintain their hold over the Nubian tribes; punitive expeditions had, of course, to be undertaken, and several of these took place in the reign of Seti I.

Returning to the north-east frontier of Egypt we see that during the XIXth and the early part of the XXth Dynasty, Palestine remained a possession of Egypt. The tribes of the Kheta League who had interfered, with such disastrous results to the Egyptian power, in its affairs as early as the days of Khu-en-Åten, seem after the conclusion of their treaty with Rameses II. to have advanced no further south than Syria which, with Mesopotamia, had been finally surrendered to them by the Egyptians. The reason of this inactivity is not far to seek, for it was due to the steady

[1] The actual name of the tribe is Māsha, and they are, no doubt, the Maxyes of the Greeks; the termination *sha* or *uasha* is gentilic, and is thought to have been added to the name by the Egyptians under a misconception, the name of this tribe being confused with those of the northern tribes. See Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

rise of the Assyrian power, which as early as the time of Shalmaneser I. and his son Tukulti-Ninib (about B.C. 1300) had already conquered the northern and western parts of Mesopotamia, and the country as far north as the Subnat, a river to the north of the modern city of Diâr-Bekîr, thus depriving the Kheta of the lands which they had recently acquired in Neheren or Naharaina (Mesopotamia). About B.C. 1120 Tiglath-Pileser I., a descendant of Shalmaneser I., finally overthrew the power of the Kheta, or Khatti, and conquered the whole country of Ḳummuḥ, i.e., Kommagene, and Shubarti, where in one battle he defeated 4000 warriors of the Khatti, and captured 120 chariots. The land of Mitanni had also by this time been taken away from the Khatti, and that the natural conditions of the country had not changed greatly for about 400 years is evident from the fact that Tiglath-Pileser I. killed 10 elephants, 4 wild oxen, 120 lions on foot, and 800 lions with spears, thus emulating the hunting exploits in the same country of Thothmes III., whose general relates that his master slew 120 elephants there, and of Âmen-ḥetep III., who boasts on his scarabs that in the first ten years of his reign he slew 102 lions on the plains of Mesopotamia.

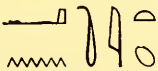
But whilst the might and influence of Assyria were increasing in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I., the power of Egypt, which Rameses III. had succeeded in temporarily resuscitating after the decline which marks the latter years of the reign of Rameses II. and the reign of

Mer-en-Ptaḥ, again fell into a condition of weakness and apathy under his incapable successors; and it was not long before Palestine itself was lost to Egypt, owing to the rise to power in that country of a native kingdom with its capital at Jerusalem, the fortress-city of the Hebrew tribe of Judah. The Israelitish tribes seem to have been in possession of central Palestine before the reign of Mer-en-Ptaḥ, when they are first mentioned in a hieroglyphic inscription. During the greater part of the period of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties they were governed by their chiefs, or judges, and seem to have occupied themselves largely with internecine warfare. The country was still Egyptian territory, and Pharaoh continued to be their overlord until towards the end of the twelfth century B.C., when a warrior called Saul, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, succeeded in uniting the various tribes of the country into a confederacy over which he presided. As the kings of the latter part of the XXth Dynasty were absolutely incapable of maintaining the authority of Egypt in a rebellious province, Palestine was finally lost, and the Israelitish kingdom which had been inaugurated by Saul aspired to dominate not only Palestine, but also Syria and the other neighbouring provinces which had formerly been in the possession of Egypt, and which had since formed a bone of contention between the Khatti and the Assyrians. The Philistines were first attacked, but it was not until the reign of David, the successor of Saul,

that they were finally subdued. David succeeded in carrying the arms of Israel as far as the northernmost bounds of Syria, and it is a noteworthy fact that the rise of the Hebrew kingdom and its great extension northwards under David and Solomon synchronize exactly with the temporary decline of the Assyrian power, which began about B.C. 1050 under the weak successors of Tiglath-Pileser I., and ended with the accession of Rammân-nirari II., or Addu-nirari II., B.C. 911.

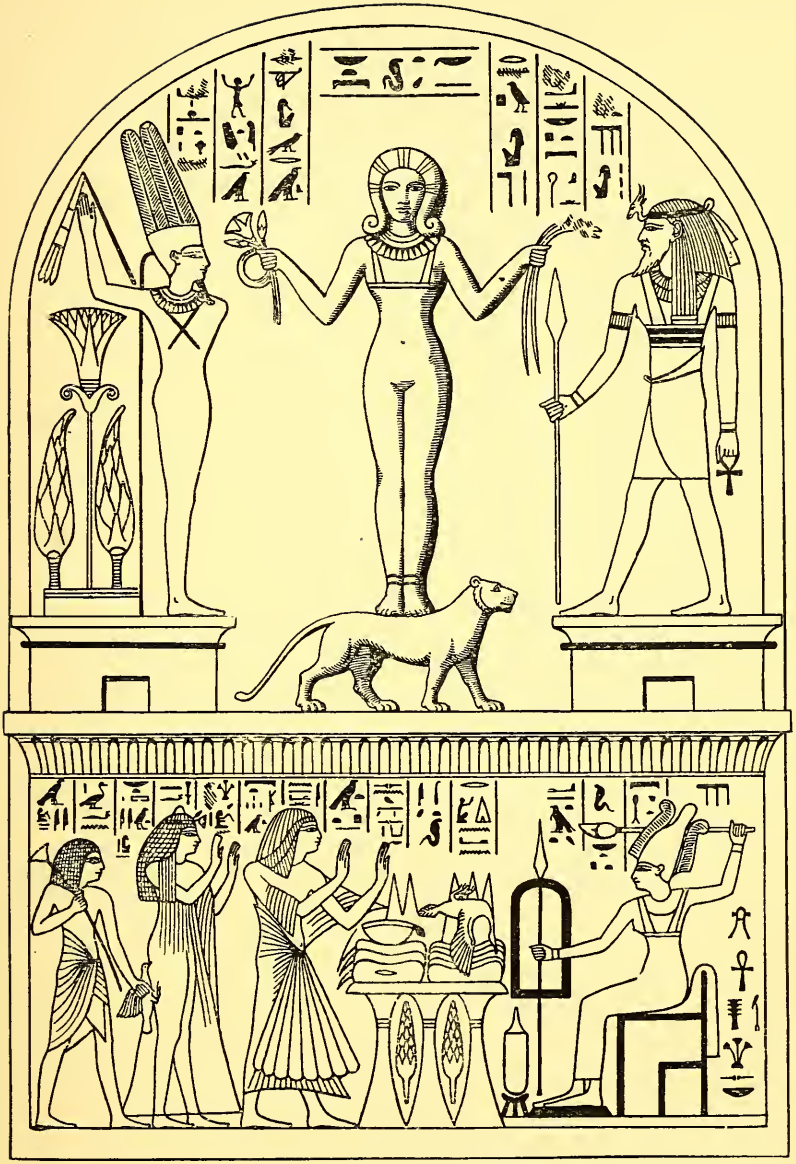
For about a century, under the rule of the energetic monarchs David and Solomon, the Hebrew kingdom was the most important power of Western Asia, and Solomon was considered worthy to marry a daughter of Pharaoh; but the newly-founded kingdom did not last long, and we may note that its collapse and its division into two mutually hostile principalities, the one under Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, and the other under Rehoboam, the legitimate successor of Solomon, synchronize with the end of the weak rule of the priest-kings and of the rival princes of Tanis in Egypt, and the accession of the more energetic kings of the XXIInd or Bubastite Dynasty, the first of whom promptly attacked the divided Hebrew kingdom and sacked Jerusalem, about B.C. 930.

It will be remembered that when the great kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty made their successful campaigns in Palestine, Syria, Mitanni, and Neheren (Mesopotamia), they obtained great spoil, and therewith large

numbers of Semitic prisoners, whom they brought back to Egypt and employed in building temples and other public works, and many were distributed as rewards to nobles and priests, and others. As these campaigns, which were begun about B.C. 1600 were continued until about B.C. 1200, it follows that a very large number of Semites from Western Asia must, in this manner, have been introduced into Egypt, to say nothing of the Phoenician traders and other voluntary settlers in the country. There must also be taken into consideration the fact that during the whole of this period there was uninterrupted communication between the Egyptians and the Semites, with the natural result that the two systems of civilization influenced one another reciprocally. The influence exercised by the Semites on Egyptian culture was, however, greater than that exercised by the Egyptians on Semitic civilization, and owing no doubt in part to the introduction of large companies of Semitic courtiers and nobles in the trains of the foreign queens whom the Egyptian kings admitted to their *harîms*, it became in the XIXth Dynasty quite fashionable, not only to imitate Semitic customs and to adopt Semitic names, but even to make use of Semitic words and turns of expression in speaking and in writing the Egyptian language. Semitic gods were introduced, e.g., Reshpu,  ; Qeṭesh,  ; Ānthàt,  , and Bār,  ; Reshpu is the Phoenician fire-god Resheph, Qeṭesh is

probably a form of Ashtoreth, or Ishtar, Ānthât, who is often depicted with the weapons of Reshpu, is the war-goddess Anait, or Anaitis, and Bār is, of course, the great god Baal, i.e., the "Lord," κατ' ἐξόχην. The god Reshpu was soon identified with the native Egyptian war-god Ân-ḥer,  , but curiously enough, to the Egyptian god Bes a considerable number of Semitic attributes were assigned, and in some cases he was actually identified with the god Bār or Baal. Intermarriage between Egyptians and Semites became common, with the result that under the XIXth and following dynasties, it is possible to trace an increase in the number of statues and paintings of persons whose features have marked Semitic peculiarities, Rameses II. himself being a prominent example of this fact.

The reigns of Seti I. and Rameses II. are distinguished particularly by the magnitude of the building operations which they carried on. The new temple at Abydos and the magnificent hypostyle hall at Karnak, both built by Seti, are for grandeur of conception and beauty of work unrivalled among the triumphs of ancient Egyptian architecture; the great works of Rameses II., such as the Ramesseum, or Tomb of Osymandyas as it is called by Diodorus, and the rock-hewn temple of Abû Simbel, while of more massive design and workmanship than those of his father, are much coarser and inferior in execution. Rameses II. was a great



Sepulchral Stele with figures of foreign deities in relief.

Upper Register:—The goddess KETESHET standing on a lion; on her right stands "ÅMSU (or Min) great god, whose plumes are lofty," and on her left "RESHPU the great god."

Lower Register:—The deceased with his sister (i.e., wife) and his son adoring the goddess ĀNTHÀT. British Museum, No. 191.

builder, but the quantity of his buildings considerably outweighs the quality of them; and besides this he had the dishonest habit of appropriating to himself the credit due to his ancestors by erasing their names from their monuments and by substituting his own, thus giving the impression that he built more buildings than was actually the case. The habit of usurping monuments appears to have originated with the Hyksos kings, who appropriated the sphinxes of Âmenemḥāt III. in the Delta, and it continued to be common long after the time of Rameses II., whose monuments were by the irony of fate often usurped by the Libyan kings of the XXIInd Dynasty. The custom of erecting lofty obelisks in front of the pylons of temples was begun by Usertsen I., who set up a pair before the temple of the Sun-god at Heliopolis; this custom was revived some hundreds of years later by Thothmes I., Ḥāt-shepset, and Thothmes III., who set up obelisks at Karnak and Dêr al-Baḥari. To many of these XVIIIth Dynasty obelisks Rameses II. added inscriptions which recorded his own name and titles, and he set up two very fine ones of his own before that portion of the temple of Luxor which he added to the fine building of Âmen-ḥetep III. The building operations of Rameses III. are best illustrated by the remarkable edifice at Medînet Habû, which is part palace, part fortress, and part temple, and one portion at least of which seems to have been copied from an Asiatic fortified building.

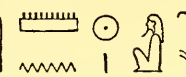
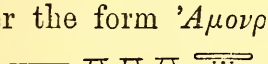
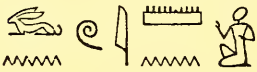
One of the chief characteristics of the development of Egyptian religion under the XXth Dynasty was the unwonted worship which was paid to Khensu, the third member of the Theban triad of gods, the son of Åmen-Rā and Mut, who was identified with the Moon-god; up to the period of the XXth Dynasty he had received no special honours, nor was he regarded with any great veneration after the rule of the XXIst Dynasty had come to an end. But during the period when his worship was in its most flourishing state, a fine temple was built in his honour at Karnak which is oriented in quite a different direction from that of the great temple of Åmen, and which certainly formed no part of the original design for the group of temples there. It was no doubt due more to want of money than to lack of zeal that the priest-kings were unable to add more than they did to the buildings at Thebes. The private houses of this period differed in no way in plan from those which were built in the XVIIIth Dynasty, and their furniture and other contents exhibit few variations from the standard of that time, albeit a falling off in taste may be noticed, and the workmanship is not so fine. Objects and designs of Asiatic origin or appearance are more common, vases of strange shapes were used, and the foreign idea of the winged sphinx was introduced into Egyptian patterns and ornamentations. Typical of the ornamentation of the walls of an Egyptian palace of Rameses III. are the inlaid porcelain tiles from Tell

el-Yahûdîyeh,[1] the site of the ancient city of Leontopolis near Shibîn al-Ḳanaṭîr in the Delta, which exhibit an interesting mixture of Egyptian art motives and ornamental designs borrowed from more Eastern peoples. An artistic peculiarity of the period under discussion is the way in which the *ushabtiu* figures were treated. These figures appear to have come into general use in the XVIIIth Dynasty, when they were made of painted limestone, or of hard stone, steatite, wood, etc.; at the end of the dynasty they began to be made of porcelain, and were glazed with the colours, i.e., mauve, yellow, chocolate, blue, etc., which were characteristic of that time. In the XIXth Dynasty pale blue became the universal colour, and a new fashion was introduced of representing the *ushabti* figure not in the form of a mummy, but in that of a man or woman wearing the apparel of everyday life. This modification continued in use throughout the XXth Dynasty, and is found sporadically under the XXIInd. Under the XXIst Dynasty there was a return to the old fashion of making the *ushabti* figure in the form of a mummy, and *ushabtiu* of this time may always be recognized by the brilliant blue of their glaze, on which the inscription is painted in an equally brilliant black.

In the period under discussion considerable changes took place in the method employed in writing and illustrating the great national religious work, the

[1] I.e., the "hill of the Jewess," or the "Jewish hill."

Book of the Dead, and other cognate compositions. In the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty the vignettes were sometimes coloured and sometimes plain; under the XIXth and following dynasties they were always coloured, but the work of the artist and scribe is not so delicate as that displayed in the papyri of the earlier period. Later the vignettes became very numerous, and were inserted without any regard to proportion or to the requirements of the text. Gradually, too, we find that in the XXth Dynasty selections from the "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day," or the *Book of the Dead*, began to be no longer written upon funeral papyri, and that the ancient prayers and vignettes were set aside for quite modern compositions and pictures, which had reference entirely to the supremacy of Ȧmen-Rā and the tenets of the creed of the priests of Ȧmen, which now represented the national religion of the country. In the old funeral works the name of Ȧmen hardly ever appears, but by the time that the XXIst Dynasty began to rule this god had not only absorbed the attributes of Rā and of Min, or Ȧmsu, but seems to have become more or less identified with Osiris himself, a view which, though fostered by the priesthood of Ȧmen, could hardly have commended itself to the priesthood of the old shrine of Osiris at Abydos. In many parts of Egypt the name of the local god was joined to that of Ȧmen, or Rā, who was now, and always afterwards, considered to be the same god as Ȧmen. The great god of Thebes is

called by the name of  , i.e., *Ámen-Rā suten neteru*, "Àmen-Rā, king of the gods," a name which was preserved by the Greeks under the form *'Αμονρασόνθηρ*, and his proudest title was  , "lord of the thrones of the two lands;" it is clear that his priests wished to proclaim that he was the head of all gods, both old and new, and that Thebes was the true centre of the religion of Egypt. In the XXth Dynasty this pretension was admitted throughout Egypt, and that the prestige of Àmen had not only penetrated into foreign lands, but had succeeded in overshadowing even local deities, is proved by the reference made to him by the Syrians in the report which Unu-Àmen,  , the envoy of the first priest-king Ḥer-Ḥeru  , made to his master on the adventurous journey which he undertook to Byblos and Alashiya (Cyprus?), in search of wood for building the festival bark of the god Àmen, about B.C. 1050.[1] Closely connected with the worship of Àmen was that of his son Khensu, which was fashionable under the XXth and XXIst Dynasties, and to which sufficient reference has already been made.

The literature of the Middle Empire, as well as that

[1] See the text transcribed and translated by Golénischeff in *Recueil*, tom. xxi. p. 76 ff.; also Erman in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxviii., 1900, p. 19 ff.

of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, is known to us chiefly from editions of old works and copies of new ones executed at the time of the XIXth Dynasty, to which date also most of the copies of texts made by schoolboys on papyrus and slabs of calcareous stone must be assigned. Among the historical romances and fairy tales which were popular at this period may be mentioned the "Taking of Joppa by Teḥuti-à," "The Story of Àpepà and Seqenen-Rā," "The Tale of the Two Brothers," "The Story of the Predestined Prince;" the adulatory composition of Pen-ta-urt,  , the Egyptian Poet Laureate of the day, in honour of the doughty deeds ascribed to Rameses II. in his war against the Kheta, which was inscribed on the pylons at Karnak, may almost be included under the heading of historical romances. It is a fine specimen of the inflated style in fashion at the period, and is linguistically of considerable importance, for it well illustrates the changes which the Egyptian language was undergoing at this period. The speech of an Egyptian of the XIXth Dynasty, differed considerably from that of his grandfather, if the latter happened to have lived under the XVIIIth Dynasty, for during the greater part of the period of that dynasty the language differed but little from that in use in the classical period of the XIIth Dynasty. The language of the XXth Dynasty differs as much from that of the XIIth as the English of to-day differs from that of the time of Chaucer.

Narratives of travel had always been popular among the Egyptians, for in the XIIth Dynasty we find extant the "Story of Sa-Nehat," and the "Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor," and similarly under the XIXth and XXth Dynasties the narrative of the tour which an intelligence officer[1] made in Palestine, and of the mischances which befell him there appears to have been so widely read that copies of it were compiled in such a way that they could be used to teach geography. The narrative of Unu-Àmen referred to above is, seemingly, not a work of the same character as the "Travels of an Egyptian," but a genuine official report of the Egyptian envoy to his superior officers. The "Story of the Possessed Princess of Bekhten," written in the XIXth Dynasty, combines a narrative of travel and of what may well have been a historical event with a very manifest advertisement of the superior magical powers of the god Khensu.

Under the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties an unprecedented interest was taken in the ancient history of the country. The court scribes of Thothmes III. drew up a list of the names of sixty-one of his royal predecessors, whom he is represented adoring on the Tablet of Karnak, but the order and arrangement of the cartouches indicate the improbability that any attempt was made to place the names in proper chronological sequence. Seti I., however, was more careful in this respect, and his list of seventy-five names of

[1] Commonly known as the "Travels of an Egyptian."

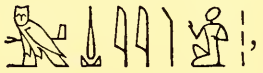
his royal predecessors, which is known as the Tablet of Abydos, in spite of the omissions of a large number of names, has been a document of the greatest value to Egyptian chronographers. The private list of forty-seven kings, found in the tomb of Thunrei, an official who lived in the reign of Rameses II., shows that definite attempts were made at this time to secure accuracy of sequence and not only mere collections of names. The great King List which is preserved in the Royal Museum at Turin was written in the period of the XIXth Dynasty, and no doubt represented the official view of that time on the subject of the names and sequence of the kings, the lengths of their reigns, etc., which had been arrived at after long and careful inquiry; it is therefore the more deplorable that its fragments, owing to their manipulation by the misguided Seyffarth, are useless for the purpose of reconstruction of Egyptian chronology. It is interesting to note from our standpoint of wider knowledge the misconceptions and mistakes of the earliest Egyptian historians. This is especially noticeable in the case of the royal names of the Archaic Period, which seem to have been much more incomprehensible to the scribes of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties than they are to us, and with regard to which they made very curious mistakes. For example, the name Semti,  , was read by  , Ḥesepti, and this error was still current in the time of Manetho, who calls this king "Usaphaïs."

Another name, that of  , Sen, the last king of the Ist Dynasty, was curiously enough read  , Qebh, and in one list this mistaken reading is unpardonably insisted on by being spelt out  . The reason of these mistakes is not far to seek: the scribes had before them not the actual monuments of the Archaic Period which we possess (at that time buried deeply beneath the sand at Abydos), but their names as given in annals written in the hieratic character of the time of the Middle Empire; which were no doubt often erroneous, and often misread by the scribes of the New Empire. It is chiefly on the work of these later scribes, with all their mistakes, that the work of Manetho is based; some of his names, however, seem to be derived from the works of authorities older than the XIXth Dynasty, which are now no longer extant. He appears to have done the best he could with the materials available, and we can only wonder that his King List agrees with the evidence derived from the monuments as well as it does.

More important from a general than from a literary point of view are two series of documents, which give us a good insight into certain phases of the social life of the Egyptians in the period of the XXth Dynasty; these are,—1. the reports of the trial of a number of members of the famous conspiracy hatched and fomented in the *harîm* of Rameses III., and, 2. the reports of the proceedings taken against certain robbers of the

Royal Tombs at Thebes in the reign of Rameses IX. The conspirators against Rameses included in their number many high officials, several of whom were connected with the management of the *harîm*, and at least six women; they appear to have planned the death of the king, but so many persons were mixed up in the business that the plot soon leaked out, and the king appointed a commission to try them. We learn, however, that of the commissioners at least three were discovered to be themselves implicated in the plot! The criminals of high rank were allowed to commit suicide, whilst those of lower rank suffered either death or mutilation at the hands of the public executioners. Incidentally it is seen that one of the conspirators tried to injure the health of the king by magical means, for he had borrowed a book of magic from the royal library, and, in accordance with the directions contained in it, had made a number of wax figures, and had recited incantations over them, hoping thereby to cause pain and eventually death to the persons who were represented by the wax figures.

The report of the proceedings taken by the government against the robbers of Royal Tombs affords us a very good idea of the complicated character of the police arrangements in the time of Rameses IX., as well as of the growing lawlessness which was tolerated under the weak government of the later kings of the XXth Dynasty. The fact that the

tombs of ancient kings, who were officially regarded as gods, and were worshipped as such, were as fair a prey to the tomb robber as the tombs of private persons, proves that the criminal of the lower classes had very little respect either for his kings or his god. We need not be surprised to find that in Egypt, as in every eastern country, the use of the stick was regarded as a legitimate means to employ for compelling unwilling witnesses and culprits to bear testimony when required to do so; the convicted felons in this case were either mutilated or put to death. The official titles of the police officers of the time do not differ greatly from those in the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, and have already been referred to in the place where the official classes under the New Empire are briefly described. The police of Thebes at this time were known by the name "Mātchaiu,"  , and it seems pretty certain that they were descendants of a foreign tribe of African origin which had been brought by the Egyptians to Egypt in captivity. An important characteristic of the period is the employment by the Egyptians of foreign mercenaries and slaves, both to keep order in the country and to wage war without. The tribe most frequently met with in this capacity is that of the Māsha, or Māshauasha, which has already been mentioned. Next come the Sharṭina of Asia Minor, who served as mercenaries in Syria as early as the time of Ȧmen-ḥetep IV., and were afterwards

employed in Egypt as royal guards; they are depicted on the monuments wearing the most elaborate uniforms, but carrying their own native weapons and armour, e.g., a closely-fitting helmet with a crest in the shape of a crescent and ball, and a huge broadsword of European type, which must have appeared very strange in the sight of the Egyptians. Members of the tribe of the Sharṭina took part in an attack made upon Egypt by the northern tribes in the reign of Mer-en-Ptaḥ, but on the occasion of the great battle with these same northern tribes in the reign of Rameses III., about fifty years later, we find the "heroes" of the Sharṭina, as they are called by the Egyptians, forming the mainstay of the Egyptian forces. In the same battle a number of Thuirsha also fought on the Egyptian side, but in the time of Mer-en-Ptaḥ this tribe had formed part of the invading host. The employment of mercenaries distinguishes the army of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties from that of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but in other respects there was no great difference between them; an account of the various classes of soldiers employed, charioteers, infantry, etc., has already been given in the description of the war of Rameses II. against the Kheta.

The defeat of the attack of the northern tribes upon Egypt in the reign of Rameses III. has already been described, but we must note here that the fight took place partly on land and partly on shipboard off the coast of Palestine, most probably at the mouth of the

Nahr al-Kalb, or Dog River, in Phoenicia, where on the rocks close by Rameses II. had in times past sculptured slabs to commemorate his victories. The ships of the foreigners and of the Egyptians are very carefully indicated in the bas-reliefs on the great temple of Medînet Habû, wherein the chief events of the battle were depicted for the benefit of posterity. The ships of the foreigners are of light build and draught, and the lofty, vertical bows and sterns terminate in the heads of large birds; like all ships of that period they only possessed one bank of oars. The Egyptian ships are of a stronger build, and are not so high out of the water; their bows terminate in the heads of animals, etc., but their sterns are quite plain. The kings of Egypt had maintained ships of war for use on the Nile from the period of the VIth Dynasty, when we find the first mention of the "soldier boat,"  *nemāshā*.

In the war between the Thebans and the Hyksos, about fourteen hundred years later, the royal war-ships took a prominent part in the capture of Avaris, and from the inscriptions which describe this event we learn that the war-ships had special names given to them, e.g., "Khā-em-Men-nefer," i.e., "Sunrise in Memphis," wherein we may probably see an allusion to the driving away of the Hyksos darkness from Lower Egypt by the sun of Upper Egypt. Sea-going boats appear in Egyptian annals in the time of Se-ānkh-ka-Rā, a king of the XIth Dynasty,

who despatched an expedition to Punt viâ the Red Sea. The same route was traversed a thousand years later by the fleet of five heavy merchant ships, which were sent to Punt by the great queen Ḥātshepset to bring back gum, frankincense, gold, copper, skins, apes, etc., to Egypt. Mediterranean ships are first depicted in an Egyptian tomb built in the reign of Åmen-ḥetep III.; the ship in question is a Phoenician merchant ship, and similar vessels are mentioned in the Annals of Thothmes III., and in the Tell el-'Amarna tablets, etc. Egyptian war-ships do not, however, appear in Mediterranean waters until the time of Rameses III., when vessels which, on account of their low freeboard, seem to have been originally built for use on the Nile, were navigated along the Palestinian coast to fight and defeat the sea-going ships of the enemy. The campaign of Rameses III. was the last energetic effort which Egypt put forth to maintain her empire intact, but it was unavailing to check the process of disintegration which had set in as early as the reign of Rameses II., and which continued until Egypt lost all her foreign possessions, and was herself rent by the dissensions of two rival royal houses.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY FROM BUBASTIS.

In some respects the XXIInd Dynasty has formed among Egyptologists as momentous a subject for discussion as the XXIst Dynasty, but it is satisfactory to know that most of the difficulties which have arisen in connexion with it have been removed, and that the origin and order of the kings in the dynasty have been satisfactorily ascertained. Among the names of the kings of this dynasty are four which are characteristic, i.e., Shashanq, Uasarken, Thekeleth, and Nemareth; from these attempts were made by the early Egyptologists to assign an origin to the dynasty. Dr. Birch in 1880[1] thought that the family of Shashanq, its first king, was "of Libyan or Semitic origin, that it "was descended from Psusennes" (Pasebkhānut), and that "the names of his descendants identify them with "the great Chaldean families which reigned over "Assyria and Babylonia"; at an earlier period he had

[1] *Egypt* (edition of 1880), p. 155 f.

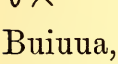
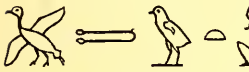
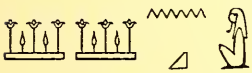
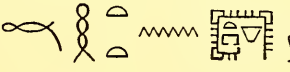
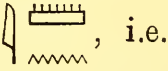
no doubt that these kings were wholly of Semitic origin. Dr. Brugsch shared this view, and asserted in an unqualified manner that the names "*Takeloth*, *Usarkon*, "*Nemaroth*, represent in the Egyptian form and writing "the names *Tiglath*, *Sargon*, and *Nimrod*, so well known "in Assyria."[1] It was, however, soon seen that none of these three names was Semitic, and the argument that the dynasty was Semitic, because the names were supposed to be Semitic, therefore fell to the ground. In the cuneiform inscriptions the work "Tukulti," from which the Hebrews made "Tiglath," never stands alone, but always forms *part* of a name, e.g. Tukulti-Ninib, Tukulti-pal-e-sharra; the name Nimrod is only known to us from Genesis x. 8, 9, and from Arabic legends, and has not as yet been identified in the cuneiform inscriptions;[2] and the first character, *ua*,  , in the name Uasarken, is sufficient to show that we are dealing with a non-Semitic name. All doubt as to the origin of the XXIInd Dynasty may now be set aside, for we know that its first king was a descendant of a Libyan family, and that his family belonged to the famous Māshauasha tribe of the Libyans.

From the stele of a priest,[3] called Ḥeru-pa-sen, who officiated at the interment of an Apis Bull in the

[1] *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 215.

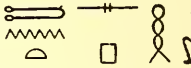
[2] Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i. p. 75.

[3] See Mariette, *Le Serapéum de Memphis*, plate 31; Mariette, *Bulletin de l'Athénaeum Français*, 1855, p. 94 ff.; Lepsius, *Abhandlungen der Berl. Akad.* (Phil. Hist. Classe, p. 259), 1856.

thirty-seventh year of the reign of Shashanq IV., we learn that the founder of the family was a Libyan,  *Theḥen*,[1] called Buiu-uaua, or Buiuua-Buiuua,  , who must have flourished towards the end of the XXth or the beginning of the XXIst Dynasty; his son was called Mauuasan,  , his grandson Nebenshȧ,  , his great-grandson Pa-thut,  , his great-great-grandson Shashanq,  , and his great-great-great-grandson, Namareth,  ; all these men bore the title *sar āa*,  , i.e. "great chief," which shows that they were the head of the tribe to which they belonged, and probably also that their tribe was the dominant one in the country. Shashanq, the great-great-grandson of Buiu-uaua, married a lady called Meḥtet-en-usekht,  , who had the title of "Neter ṭuat en Ȧmen,"  , i.e., "morning star of Ȧmen,"[2] and as she belonged to the royal family of Egypt he obtained by his marriage

[1] The word means "light-coloured" and "fair" when applied to the complexion.

[2] Or "divine adorer."

with her a claim to the throne. Their son Namareth married the "divine lady" Thent-sepeḥ,  , and the claim of Buiu-uaua's descendants to the throne was further strengthened. Namareth, having married the Egyptian lady Thent-sepeḥ, seems to have settled down in Egypt, and he was at all events buried at Abydos, and certain endowments were provided for the maintenance of his tomb and the performance of the sacrifices and the celebration of festivals at certain seasons in his honour. According to the late Dr. Brugsch the mother of Namareth, Meḥtet-en-usekht, was a daughter of one of the last of the kings called Rameses, and she may well have been so, but there is no evidence forthcoming in support of his statement that Namareth was associated with his father Shashanq in the rule of Egypt, and it is wholly wrong to call him "the great king of Assyria."[1] He may have advanced into Egypt with the view of conquering the country and have been overtaken by death at Abydos, but there is no evidence that he did so to help the Ramessids.

The proof of all this is derived from the lower half of a granite stele[2] found at Abydos, which was set up by Shashanq I., the son of Namareth, and the founder of the XXIInd Dynasty. From this we

[1] *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 206.

[2] For the text see Mariette, *Abydos*, vol. ii. pll. 36, 37; translations will be found, by Brugsch, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 208 ff., and by Birch, *Records of the Past*, vol. xii. p. 93.

learn that Shashanq I. visited Abydos, where his father was buried, and discovered that his father's tomb had been shamefully neglected, and that the revenues of the estates, presumably at Abydos, which had been set aside for its maintenance had been misappropriated; the field and garden produce and the cattle which were intended for the funeral sacrifices had been stolen, and the servants of the tomb and the labourers on the estates had been withdrawn from their proper duties and made to work for certain officials whose titles are duly given. The officials who had neglected the tomb and stolen its revenues were put to death forthwith, and Shashanq took steps to repair the tomb and to re-establish the proper funeral services, and appointed a number of men and women to do what was necessary in connexion with them. All these things he says he carried out with the approval of the god Åmen-Rā, who promised him a long life on earth, and an everlasting posterity. Shashanq I. next caused an upright statue of his father to be made, and when finished he had it brought up to Abydos accompanied by a large number of ships and men. In due course it was brought into the sanctuary of Osiris in the great temple of Abydos, where it no doubt remained until it was to the interest of some king to have it removed or broken. Dr. Brugsch identified with this statue a porphyry statue of the prince which is preserved in the Egyptian Collection at Florence,[1] but he overlooked the fact that

[1] Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 544.

the statue at Florence is that of the prince *seated*, whilst the inscription mentions an *upright* statue. The statue was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, and a table of festivals was compiled wherein the festival days were made to correspond with those of the gods, and a memorial tablet, i.e., the one from which these facts are obtained, was inscribed and set up in the temple "for ever." The latter part of the inscription records the names of the tomb servants, both men and women, and of others who were connected with the work of the estates, and it sets forth the extent of the estates and the prices which were paid for them; the estates comprised in all 100 arurae, and the men and women supported by the endowments were twenty-five in number. It is clear from the facts given above that the Libyan prince Namareth must have enjoyed considerable power in Egypt, otherwise he would never have chosen Abydos for his place of burial; we should rather have expected this prince to have been buried at or near Tanis, where the various members of his family and his ancestors occupied high positions at the court of the Tanite kings. The British Museum possesses [1]

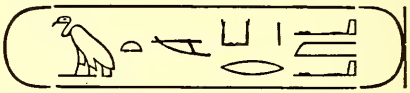
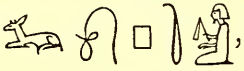
[1] Nos. 14,594, 14,595. These bracelets were made for the princess, the daughter of the chief of all the bowmen, Nemareth, whose mother was the daughter of the prince of the land of Reshnes,  (*sic*) .

two wide gold bracelets, inlaid with paste and ornamented with figures of Harpocrates, uraei, etc., in relief, which are inscribed with the name of Namareth; inscriptions of this prince other than those on his seated statue at Florence are unknown.

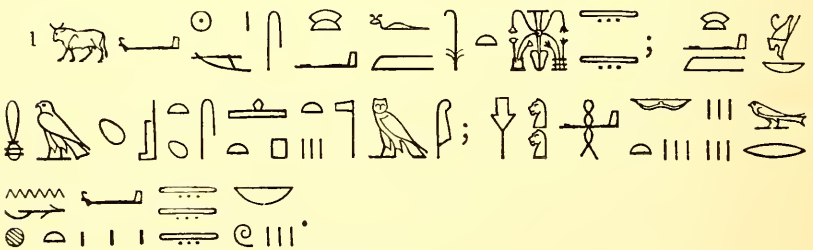
1. 

RĀ-ḤETCH-KHEPER SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, SHASHANQ-MERI-ĀMEN.

SHASHANQ I., the Σεσώγχις of Manetho, and the Shishak of 1 Kings xiv. 25; 2 Chron. xii. 5, 7, 9, was the son of Namareth, and the grandson of Shashanq, the "great prince of the Māshauasha," and of the Egyptian princess Meḥtet-en-usekht; he was the founder of the XXIInd Dynasty, and began to reign a few years before the death of Pasebkhānut II., the last of the kings of the XXIst Tanite Dynasty. According to the monuments and Manetho Shashanq I. reigned twenty-one years. His Horus name was "Mighty Bull, "beloved of Rā, [who] made him to rise in the "sovereignty of the two lands"; his name as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet was "Rising with "the double crown of the South and North like Horus, "the son of Isis, making to be content the gods with "Maāt"; and as the Horus of gold he styled himself, "Prince doubly mighty, subduer of the Nine Bows,

"greatest of the mighty ones of all lands."[1] He married a "morning star" of Àmen called Karāmā, beloved of Mut,  , the daughter of the Tanite king Pasebkhānut II., and thus obtained a legal claim to the throne of Egypt through his wife, and mother, and grandmother. He caused his son Āuuapeth,  , to be appointed high priest of Àmen, and commander-in-chief of the soldiers of Egypt, and by so doing he succeeded in getting into his own hands complete control of all Egypt and Nubia.

According to Josephus (*Antiquities*, viii. 7, 8) Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, having become puffed up by reason of the words of the prophet Ahijah, of the city of Shilo, persuaded the people to forsake Solomon and make himself the king. When Solomon heard of this he tried to catch Jeroboam and kill him, but he escaped to Shishak, i.e., Shashanq I., the king of Egypt, and abode in that country until Solomon died, aged ninety-four years.[2] In the Septuagint the king



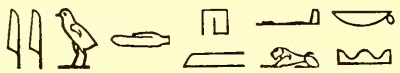
[2] Compare 1 Kings xi. 26–40.

of Egypt is called "Susakim" (III. Kings, xi. 40), a form of the name of Shashanq which seems to have been copied by Cedrenus,[1] who gives *Σουσακεὶμ*, and adds the information that Jeroboam took to wife a daughter of the king of Egypt.[2] On the death of Solomon Jeroboam returned to Palestine and became king of the ten tribes whilst Rehoboam maintained his kingship over two tribes. According to Josephus (*Antiquities*, viii. 10, 1 ff.), Rehoboam built the cities of Bethlehem, Etam, Tekoa, Bethzur, Shoco, Adullam, Ipan, Maresha, Ziph, Adoriam, Lachish, Azekah, Zorah, Aijalon, and Hebron, and having fortified them strongly he placed garrisons in them with supplies of corn, wine, and oil, etc., and he laid up in them shields and spears for many times ten thousand men. He married eighteen wives, and had thirty concubines, and a family of twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters. In the fifth year of his reign (1 Kings, xiv. 25) Shashanq I. (Shishak) made an expedition against him and invaded his country with tens of thousands of men, and 1200 chariots, and 60,000 horsemen, and 400,000 footmen, among whom were Libyans and Ethiopians. Shashanq took all his strong cities without opposition, and then besieged Rehoboam in Jerusalem; by the advice of Shemaiah the Hebrew king surrendered, and then Shashanq spoiled the Temple, and carried off large quantities of gold and silver. He took away the gold

[1] Ed. Niebuhr, Bonn, 1838, tom. i. p. 118.

[2] *Ἔλαβε δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα Σουσακεὶμ ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα.*

bucklers and shields of Solomon, and also the golden quivers which David had taken from the king of Zobah and had dedicated to God, and then he returned to Egypt. Thus Shashanq, having succeeded in splitting up into two parts the kingdom founded by David, renewed the hold upon Palestine which Egypt had possessed in one form or another since the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty; he followed the example of the Tanite king who gave a daughter in marriage to Solomon, and gave a daughter to Jeroboam to wife, and so strengthened his authority at the court of the Hebrew king.

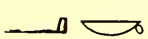
The only record of this great campaign in the Egyptian monuments are the reliefs which are found on the outside of the south tower of the second pylon of the great temple at Karnak, wherein we see Shashanq I. clubbing a number of Semitic prisoners in the presence of Åmen-Rā and the goddess of Thebes; close by the king is seen grasping a sword in his right hand and holding in his left a cord by which are tied together in five rows representatives of 133 conquered districts and cities in Palestine, each with his name enclosed within an oval turreted wall. Among these names, Rabbath, Taanach, Shunem, Rehob, Hapharaïm, Mahanaïm, Gibeon, Beth-Horon, Kedemoth, Ajalon, Megiddo, Shoco, Edom, etc., seem to have been satisfactorily identified. Among the other names on the list is one,  , which has formed the

subject of much discussion, and has been regarded with universal interest. The hieroglyphics read IUṬHMĀLK, the last sign of all being the determinative for mountainous country; these have, since the days of Champollion, been supposed to represent the Hebrew words Yud-hammelekh, for Yehûd-hammelekh,[1] i.e., the "king of Judah," and the figure of the man, with a pointed beard and hands tied together behind his back, on whose body they are inscribed within an oval castellated wall, has been considered to be a portrait of the foolish king Rehoboam.[2] This interpretation, which was due to Champollion, was generally accepted for many years, but it has always been evident that it was an impossible one; the figure on which the name occurs is a purely conventional representation of a Semitic prisoner, and was never intended by Shashanq I. to be a portrait of the king of Judah, and the spelling of the first part of the name forbids all possibility of its being a transcription of the Hebrew name Judah. In recent years a theory has been advanced[3] that the name Iuṭhmālk, or Iuṭhmārk, is to be connected with the Hebrew words Yadh hammelekh, and that it means "hand of the king," i.e., Fortress (or Power), of the king. It is true that the Hebrew word *yadh* יַד means, as may be seen from the passages quoted by Gesenius,

[1] יוּד־הַמֶּלֶךְ for יְהוּד־הַמֶּלֶךְ.

[2] See Champollion, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte*, nouvelle édition, Paris, 1868, 8vo., p. 99.

[3] Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 167.

"place, spot, a memorial slab or pillar, a sign, a mark, "the point of a rock, a prop, a stay," but on the other hand *yadh* hardly seems to be a likely original for the Egyptian *Iuṭ*. But for the undue importance given to the name Iuṭhmālk by Champollion's theory it would never have attracted any special attention on the part of Egyptologists, and all except the enthusiast would have regarded it as the name of a place in Judaea which Shashanq claimed to have conquered, and which had no more importance than any other place mentioned in his list. There is no evidence that Iuṭhmālk, or Iuṭhmārk, means either "King of Judah," or "Hand of Judah," and all that is known of the construction of the Egyptian language seems to make either meaning impossible. At any rate, if the original name of the place had either meaning in Hebrew the Egyptian scribe did not recognize it, for had he done so and intended to translate the meaning into Egyptian, he would have written the name in a different way. The presence of the character  ā, in the word  is conclusive evidence against any identification of it with the Semitic word for king, מלך, which an Egyptian scribe would have represented by  (or), with the determinative for man,  , following it. It is better to regard Iuṭhmālk as a place in Judah, or as Judah, a town of the tribe of Dan, as Brugsch [1] and Maspero [2] have done, and we

[1] *Geog. Inschriften*, vol. ii. p. 63. [2] *Hist. Anc.*, tom. iii. p. 774.

must, of course, reject wholly the view that the figure of the captive on which it occurs is a portrait of Rehoboam, king of Judah.

The expedition against Judaea was the chief event in the reign of Shashanq I., and there is no doubt that he regarded his victory with great satisfaction; the exact date at which it took place is not known, but it is probable that it was near the end of his reign. Before he could have any account of it inscribed on the walls of the great temple of Åmen-Rā at Thebes it was necessary to repair that portion of the building where there was space for it. In order to do this he sent his son Ăuuapeth to the quarries at Silsila[1] for stone, in the twenty-first year of his reign, and he seems to have not only repaired or rebuilt a part of the second pylon of the temple, but also to have carried out repairs in other parts of the building; the most important of these works was, naturally, that on which his list[2] of tributary districts or cities and towns was inscribed. In the temple of Mut at Karnak Shashanq I. carried out a number of repairs, and he followed the example of Åmen-ḥetep III. by setting up there a number of statues of the goddess Sekhet. At Memphis he built a small chapel in honour of the god Apis, at Tell

[1] For the text of the stele at Silsila see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. p. 254*c*.; for translations see Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 219; and Maspero, *Les Momies*, p. 731 ff.

[2] For the text of the list see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pll. 252, 253; and see Maspero in *Recueil*, tom. vii. p. 100, and in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1880, p. 44.

al-Maskhuta M. Naville found that he carried out some repairs,[1] and Professor Petrie found that he usurped two great granite sphinxes at Tanis,[2] and that he caused inscriptions recording his names and titles to be cut upon their bases. A number of small objects inscribed with his name are preserved in various collections in Europe,[3] including several scarabs, among which of special interest is one where, according to Wiedemann, his name appears side by side with that of Seti II.[4] From the inscriptions at Silsila it is clear that Āuuapeth, the son of Shashanq I., occupied a position of considerable importance in the south of Egypt, where he seems to have acted as viceroy. In connexion with his work at Thebes must be mentioned the active part which he took in the preservation of the royal mummies of the kings of the XVIIth, XVIIIth, XIXth and XXth Dynasties, and of the high priests of Åmen who ruled over Thebes under the XXIst Dynasty.

The punishments which had been inflicted upon the robbers of the royal tombs did not stop the progress of their depredations, and Āuuapeth found that inroads were being made by them even into the tomb of Åmen-ḥetep I., where many of the mummies had been deposited. In fact, Āuuapeth was powerless to

[1] See *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1893, p. 43.

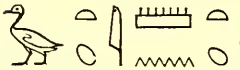
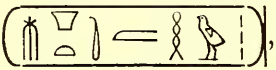
[2] One is at Tanis and one in the Louvre; Petrie, *Tanis*, i. p. 7 f.

[3] See Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 550 f.

[4] British Museum.

prevent the robberies[1] which were, of course, connived at by the priests and servants of Åmen, whose special duty it was to protect the tombs, and he determined to place the mummies and their funeral furniture once and for all in a place of safety. With this object in view he seems to have examined the tombs in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings with care, and at length decided that the sepulchre of Åst-em-khebit, the wife of Men-kheper-Rā, the high priest of Åmen, would form an excellent hiding-place for them. This tomb consisted of a pit or shaft about forty-five feet deep, and a corridor nearly two hundred feet long, opening out of it at right angles and terminating in a rough-hewn chamber without either paintings or decorations. To this place Āuuapeth brought all the royal mummies and high priests of Åmen from the tomb of Åmen-ḥetep I. and other places, together with all their funeral furniture, and deposited them in it; when this had been done he had the pit or shaft filled up with stones, sand, etc., after having walled up the entrance to the tomb at the bottom of it. The hiding-place was so carefully concealed that it remained unknown until the year 1872, when it was discovered accidentally by the Arabs. The exhaustive examination of the mummies made by M. Maspero proves that a great deal of damage had been done to many of them by the robbers, who not only despoiled the kings of their

[1] The condition of affairs at Thebes which led to the robberies is well described by Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. ii. p. 771.

ornaments and amulets, but wrecked their bodies in their mad search for treasure. The mummies of Sat-Åmen,  , and Mes-ḥent-themeḥu,  , were entirely destroyed,[1] and false mummies, one being made of the head of a child and a mass of palm-sticks and leaves, were substituted. In the hurry and confusion of removal many mummies, e.g., Rameses I., Rameses II., and Thothmes I. were placed in the coffins originally intended for other people, and it follows as a matter of course that during the removal of the funeral furniture to the hiding-place at Dêr al-Baḥarî many objects were "lost." The services which Āuuapeth unintentionally rendered to the science of Egyptology by removing the royal mummies to this hiding-place were very great, and should be regarded with gratitude.

2. 

Rā-kherp-kheper-setep-en-Rā, son of the Sun, Åmen-meri-Uasarken.

Uasarken I., or Osorkon I., or *'Οσορθών*, was the son of Shashanq I., and according to Manetho he reigned fifteen years; he married Ta-sheṭ-Khensu,  , who bore him Thekeleth, who

[1] Maspero, *Les Momies*, pp. 538, 544.

succeeded him; he also married Maāt-ka-Rā,  , the daughter of Ḥeru-Pasebkhānut, the last king of the Tanite XXIst Dynasty; she bore him a son called Shashanq, who was appointed high priest of Åmen, and commander-in-chief of the bowmen of all Egypt. Of the life and reign of this king nothing is made known to us by the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and as no monument which can be attributed to him is known, we are justified in assuming that he was neither a warrior nor a builder.[1] About the time of this king, according to 2 Chronicles xiv. 9 ff., Zerah the Ethiopian invaded Judaea with "an host of a thousand thousand, and "three hundred chariots; and came unto Mareshah. "Then Asa went out against him, and they set the "battle in array in the valley of Zephathah at Mare-"shah. And Asa cried unto the Lord and . . . . the "Lord smote the Ethiopians before Asa, and before "Judah; and the Ethiopians fled. And Asa and the "people that were with him pursued them unto Gerar: "and the Ethiopians were overthrown, that they could "not recover themselves; for they were destroyed "before the Lord, and before his host." Champollion identified Osorkon I. with "Zerah the Ethiopian," but there are no grounds whatsoever for this identification, and there is no evidence that Osorkon I. made any

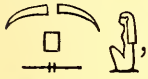
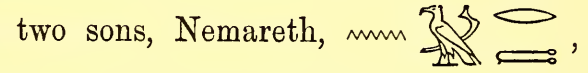
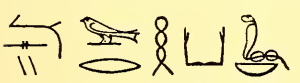
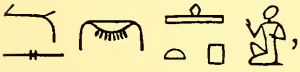
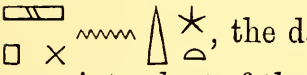
[1] He appears on a relief in the "Portico of the Bubastides" in the Great Court at Bubastis, where he is depicted receiving from Åmen a sword and the emblem of "long life," and from Khnemu the symbol of "life," and from Hathor milk.

expedition into Judah. In 2 Chron. xvi. 8, the host which Asa is said to have conquered is described as consisting of "Ethiopians and Lubims," i.e., Libyans, but an invasion in which one million men are said to have taken part must have left some record of itself behind, and yet we have none except the mention in Chronicles, which must be of a legendary character. Some years before his death, Osorkon I. appears to have associated his son Shashanq with him in the rule of the kingdom, but this son did not succeed his father on the throne of Egypt, notwithstanding the fact that his name appears in a cartouche on the limestone statue (now in the British Museum, Northern Gallery, No. 8), which he dedicated to Ḥāpi, the god of the Nile. The texts on this statue give the names and titles of Shashanq, and state that he made it in honour of "his lord Ȧmen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two lands, dweller in the Ȧpts;" one line of hieroglyphics contains a speech of the Nile god in which the "father of the gods" describes the riches and agricultural abundance which he will bestow upon the country, and the overflowing granaries which he will give to the high priest of Ȧmen-Rā, Shashanq, beloved of Ȧmen.[1] Shashanq, the son of Osorkon I., married Nesta-utchat-khut,  , who bore him a son called Uasarken.

[1] The texts are given by Lepsius, *Auswahl*, pl. xv. *a–h*.

3. 

RĀ-USR-MAĀT-SETEP-EN-ÀMEN, son of the Sun, ÀMEN-MERI-SA-ÀST-THEKELETH.

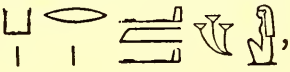
THEKELETH I. was the son of Osorkon I. and the lady Ta-sheṭ-Khensu, and according to Manetho he reigned twenty-three years; he married Shepes,  , the daughter of Neter-mer-Ḥeru,  , who bore him two sons, Nemareth,  , who became a priest of Àmen,  , and Osorkon, who succeeded him. The monuments supply no information concerning Thekeleth I., and very few inscriptions can be attributed to his reign. One, which is found on a stele discovered by M. A. Barsanti at Shûnat az-Zebîb, near Abydos,[1] is a funereal text commemorative of a high official, called Nesi-ur-ḥeka,  , the son of Nes-nub-ḥetep,  , and his wife Shep-en-Sept,  , the daughter of Basa,  , the superintendent of the granaries of the South and North, and the son of Pa-ân-en-Mut,  , who held a similar office. In the upper part of the stele is a

[1] For the text see *Recueil*, tom. xv. 173.

figure of a king who is called the "lord of the two "lands, the lord maker of creation, Usr-Maāt-Rā, son "of the Sun, lord of risings, Thekeleth, triumphant."[1] In a note following M. Barsanti's communication M. Daressy calls attention to a stele at Florence (No. 1806) wherein a king with the prenomen USR-MAĀT-RĀ-SETEP-EN-RĀ is mentioned, and as this is clearly the fuller form of the prenomen of the king who is represented on the stele found by M. Barsanti at Abydos, and as both are different from the prenomen of Thekeleth II., which is well known, it is pretty certain that the name on both stelae is that of one and the same king, and that that king is Thekeleth I.

4. 

RĀ-USR-MAĀT-SETEP-EN-ÀMEN, son of the Sun, MERI-ÀMEN-SA-BAST-UASAÀRKEN.

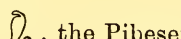
UASARKEN II., or OSORKON II., was the son of Thekeleth I. and Shepes, and according to Manetho he reigned twenty-nine years; he adopted as his Horus name the title "Mighty Bull, beloved of Maāt." He married (1) Kareāmā,  , who bore him a son called

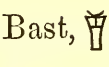
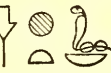


Shashanq; (2) Mut-ḥetch-ānkh-s,  , who bore him a son called Nemareth, who held the offices of "high priest of Åmen-Rā, commander of the "bowmen of Suten-ḥenen, prince, governor of the "South, overseer of the prophets in Suten-ḥenen"; (3) Åst-em-khebit,  , the daughter of the princess Thes-Bast-peru, who bore him a daughter to whom she gave the name of Thes-Bast-peru,  . Osorkon II. waged no wars either in the East or the West, but like his namesake Osorkon I. he devoted the greater part of his energies to the rebuilding and decoration of the great temple which was founded at Bubastis by Rameses II. The sculptures of Osorkon I. occur chiefly in the first hall and they are characterized by great beauty of workmanship. M. Naville, to whose excavations [1] at Bubastis in 1887, 1888, and 1889 we owe our knowledge of the history of the temple, accounts for this by the fact that in the XXIInd Dynasty the centre of political life tended to go more and more to the Delta, for there the king made his abode, chiefly because of the wars with which he was constantly threatened by the Asiatics or the Libyans.

The temple of Bubastis [2] was dedicated by Osorkon I.

[1] See *Bubastis*, London, 1891, 4to.

[2] Bubastis = Pa-Bast,  , the Pibeseth of Ezekiel xxx. 17.

to the goddess Bast,  , a sister form of the goddess Sekhet,  , who is described as the "mistress of "the gods, the lady of Pa-Bast" (Bubastis); she is called the "mistress of the mysteries of Temu," and her son is called Ḥeru-ḥekennu,  , Nefer-Tem,  , or Maḥes,  , according to his aspects. Under the Early Empire the goddess Bast was an obscure local goddess to whom no special adoration was paid, but as soon as she was adopted as the tutelary deity of the Bubastite kings, who called their capital after her name, she rose to a position of the highest importance among the gods of the Delta, and her worship became universal. When Osorkon I. ascended the throne he found the temple of Bubastis in a ruined condition, and he rebuilt, either wholly or partly, the first hall; he did not finish the construction of the main part of the building, still less did he decorate any part of it except the first hall. Osorkon II. took up the work where Osorkon I. left it, and he continued it as far as possible, taking pains to concentrate, however, his energies on the second hall, or "Festival Hall" as he called it. This hall measured 80 feet by 120 feet,[1] and was built upon the site of the sanctuary of the old temple which existed there in the time of Pepi I., and which was repaired and

[1] See Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II.*, London, 1892.

enlarged by the kings of the XIIth Dynasty. The deity to whom the old temple was dedicated in the VIth and XIth Dynasties is unknown, but it is certain that in the reign of the Hyksos kings the god Set was worshipped in it in great honour. When Rameses II. came to the throne the old temple was in ruins, and to him belongs the credit of having rebuilt it thoroughly; he erased the name of nearly every king which he found on the blocks and slabs among the ruins, and had his desire been carried out as fully as he intended we might have supposed that he was the actual founder of the temple.

After the death of Rameses II. the temple was wrecked either by an earthquake or by foes, and as the Tanite kings and Theban high priests of the XXIst Dynasty made no attempt to repair it, far less to rebuild it, it continued in a state of ruin until Osorkon I. began his good work. Osorkon II. called the Hall which he built the "House of the Seṭ Festival,"  . The great festival which he celebrated in this Hall was in connexion with the god Ámen, and it took place on the first day of the fourth month of the season Shat (Khoiak), in the twenty-second year of his reign; the Seṭ Festival was an extremely ancient institution, and was celebrated at the end of a period which has been supposed to contain thirty years. In the scenes and inscriptions which were cut on the entrance of the hall are carefully depicted and described

the various ceremonies which were performed during the celebration of the Seṭ Festival by Osorkon II. High officials and priests from all the great sanctuaries of Egypt were present at the performance of the ceremonies connected with the exaltation and deification of the king, all the great gods and goddesses of Egypt were supposed to be present and to speak comfortable words to him, and the texts declare that Osorkon II. had trodden under his feet the countries of Northern and Southern Syria, and that the Ȧnti tribes of Nubia were represented by twelve men who "smelt the earth," i.e., paid homage to the king, on behalf of their tribes. Want of space makes it impossible to describe the details of the symbolic ceremonies, which are of considerable interest, and for further information concerning them reference must be made to M. Naville's special memoir on the subject.

Osorkon II. carried out building operations at other places in the Delta, e.g., at Tanis[1] and Tell el-Maskhuṭa,[2] and it seems that he repaired portions of the temple of Ȧmen at Karnak, for his name is found there. From the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II., king of Assyria from B.C. 860 to 825, we learn that in the sixth year of his reign, i.e., in 854, he made a great expedition against the Khatti and their allies, and that having crossed the

[1] See *Études Égyptologiques*, tom. ix. pp. 71, 72; Petrie, *Tanis*, vol. ii. p. 21.

[2] See Naville, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1883, p. 43.

Euphrates at Kar-Shalmaneser he received tribute from the great chiefs of the country round about. He offered up sacrifices to the god Rammānu of Khalman, or Aleppo, and then pursued his way through Hamath and at length arrived at a place called Ḳarḳar,[1] near which he found the hosts of the enemy ready to do battle with him. Among them were Hadadezer of Damascus, Irkhulini, king of Hamath, Ahab, king of Israel, who contributed 2000 chariots and 10,000 men, and the allied forces that were opposed to the Assyrian king consisted of about 4000 chariots, 2000 horsemen, and 160,000 men. Among the troops assembled was the Arab *shêkh* Gindibu, who came with 1000 camels, and among the contingents which appear to have come from outlying districts or countries was one of 1000 men of the "Muṣrai."[2] Now the "Muṣrai" have been thought by many to be people of Miṣrayim or Egypt, and some have seen in the mention of "1000 Muṣrai," a proof that Osorkon II. sent an army into Palestine and Syria, and have therefore concluded that he must be identified with Zerah, זֶרַח, the Ethiopian who was defeated by the Jewish king Asa, and that the narrative of 2 Chronicles xiv. 8 is a description of his supposed

[1] Ḳarḳar has been identified with Ḳal'at al-Mudiḳ, which stands on the site of the classical Apamaea; the Assyrian form of the name is Ḳar-ḳa-ra  (W. A. I., iii. pl. 8, line 90).

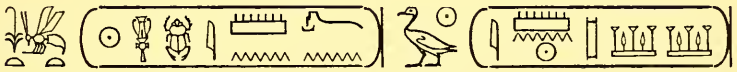
[2] (W. A. I., iii. pl. 8, line 92).

expedition. The "Muṣrai," however, had nothing whatever to do with Egypt, and were natives of an entirely different country, for they came from a district which must be looked for near the Taurus mountains.

All the evidence known to us indicates that Osorkon II., whether from choice or necessity cannot be said, was a man of peace, and we know that his hold on Palestine and Southern Syria was not very strong; it is impossible to think seriously that he would venture to send a contingent of 1000 men as far north into Syria as Apamaea, for he had no interest or purpose to serve in so doing, and it must have been evident to him that, after the rise of the new Assyrian Empire under Ashur-naṣir-pal (B.C. 885-860), the Assyrians would very soon become masters of the country then occupied by the Khatti and their allies. Shashanq I., it is true, made an expedition into Palestine and captured Jerusalem, but he did not do so until he saw that the kingdom of David was rent in twain and that the dissensions between Rehoboam and Jeroboam were of such a character as to prevent their taking action in common against Egypt. But even he did not march into Northern Syria, and, although the name of Megiddo is seen in his list of tributary or vanquished cities on the tower of the second pylon at Karnak, it must be remembered that the list is a copy of one made for an earlier king, and that it contains the names of a number of districts, cities, and towns in Palestine and Syria which Shashanq I. never saw. The successors

of Shashanq I. knew that their ancestor had carried off from Jerusalem everything of value that he could find, and that that city and the country round about were not as yet worth a further campaign. These considerations make it impossible that Osorkon II. sent 1000 men to help the Khatti against the Assyrians.

In 1896 M. Daressy discovered an inscription[1] of fifty-one lines on a wall at the north-west corner of the hypostyle hall of Åmen-hetep III. at Luxor, which records that in the third year of the reign of Osorkon II. a terrible flood came, and that the priests could only enter the temples by wading through water several feet deep. An inscription on the wall of the quay of the temple of Åmen at Thebes marks the height of the inundation of the third year of Osorkon II., and from it we learn that it was the highest rise of the Nile ever known.

5. 

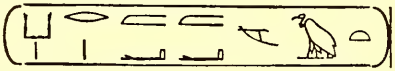
Rā-seshesh-kheper-setep-en-Åmen, son of the Son, Shasha[nq]-meri-Åmen-Rā.

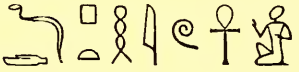
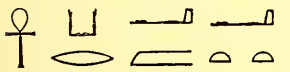
Shashanq II. was the son of Osorkon II., and succeeded him as king of Egypt; a few small objects inscribed with his name are known in European collections, as well as one or two inscriptions which

[1] See *Recueil*, tom. xviii. p. 181 ff.

may belong to the period of his reign, but they tell us nothing about him or his works. He probably pursued a policy of peace like his immediate predecessors, but he cannot have carried out any building operations in connexion with the great temple of Bast at Bubastis, or his name would have been found there in prominent positions.

6.  Rā-Ḥetch-kheperu-setep-en-Rā, son of the Sun, Ámen-Rā-meri Ást-meri-Thekeleth.

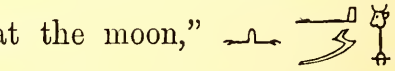
Thekeleth II., the *Τακέλωθις* of Manetho, the son and successor of Shashanq II., who is, as was his father, described as the "Great chief of the Māshauasha,"  , reigned about fifteen years; he adopted as his Horus name a title which began with "Mighty Bull," and ended with "in Thebes," a fact which indicates that he was anxious to propitiate the priesthood of Ámen-Rā at Thebes. He married Karemāmā,  , who is described as "great royal wife," and "beloved of Mut," and who was, undoubtedly, the chief wife of his *harím*, and Mut-em-ḥāt-sat-Ámen,  ; the former became the mother of "Uasarken, the high-priest of Ámen and commander-in-chief of the bowmen." Kare-

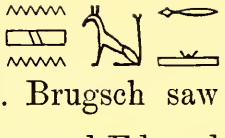
māmā is described as a "princess, great lady," and "mistress of the country of the South," and as she was descended from one of the royal families of Thebes, and was connected with the priest-kings of that city, it would account for her husband's wish to propitiate the Thebans. Thekeleth's family consisted of at least four children besides Uasarken, i.e., two sons and two daughters, namely, Paṭā-Åst,  , Tcheṭ-Ptaḥ-åuf-ānkh,  , Thes-batet-peru,  , and Ānkh-ka-rāmātet,  .

From one inscription of Thekeleth II. at Thebes,[1] dated in the eleventh year of his reign, it appears that this king overcame the opposition of certain enemies with great success, but whether they were foreigners or his own subjects the mutilated state of the text does not allow us to decide. In another inscription in the same place,[2] dated in the fifteenth year of his reign, there are further allusions to the opposition of enemies, both in the South and in the North, which was, however, again successfully overcome. The text is much broken, and the phrasing of the inscription is, perhaps purposely, vague, but it seems as if the opposition came from within, and not

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 257*a*.

[2] Lepsius, *op. cit.*, iii. pl. 256*a*.

from without. Thekeleth II., partly in accordance with his wife's wishes and partly as an act of policy, went and lived for a time at Thebes, hoping thereby to make the priests of Åmen and the people regard him with favour, so that when the occasion should arise they might take up arms against the Nubians, who, even then, were only waiting their opportunity to attack Egypt. The people of Bubastis naturally looked with disfavour upon this proceeding, for they expected a Bubastite king to stay in his own capital and keep watch on the Libyans on the West, and on the nomad tribes, and Philistines, and Syrians on the East. But the coming of Thekeleth II. to Thebes was not regarded with great favour either by the priests of Åmen or by the people, for the king was to all intents and purposes a foreigner, and of Libyan descent, and the chief deity of his capital was not Åmen but the goddess Bast; moreover, he came empty-handed, and had no spoil wrested from Asiatic foes to give them, and it was one of his ancestors who had put an end to the possibility of further robberies from the royal tombs, by removing the mummies and their funeral furniture to an unknown hiding-place, and to the memorial services which had been formerly celebrated in the tombs. The last inscription referred to above states that on the 25th day of the fourth month of the season Shemu "heaven did not eat the moon,"  , and that, in consequence, "great

"misfortune happened in this land,"  .[1] The late Dr. Brugsch saw in these words an allusion to an eclipse, and Edward Hincks believed that it referred either to the eclipse of the moon which took place on April 4, B.C. 945, or to the eclipse of the sun which took place on April 1, B.C. 927, and attempted to systematize the chronology of the XXIInd Dynasty by means of it. The correctness of Brugsch's interpretation was entirely denied by Chabas, who, in an article entitled "*Une Éclipse sous le règne du père de Tiklat II*,"[2] showed that, although some celestial phenomenon is here referred to, that phenomenon was not an eclipse of the moon. The historical and chronological conclusions which were based on the assumption that the words quoted above mentioned an eclipse fell, of course, to the ground. Accompanying this inscription at Thebes are two reliefs in which Thekeleth II. is seen making offerings of bread, etc., to the god Ámen.

7.  RĀ-USR-MAĀT-SETEP-EN-RĀ, son of the Sun, SHA-SHA[N]Q-SA-BAST-MERI-ÁMEN.

[1] I follow Goodwin's text, which was based upon that of Sir G. Wilkinson and Mr. E. Smith, given in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1868, p. 25 ff.

[2] *Mélanges*, Série 2, No. IV. pp. 73-107, Chalons-sur-Saone, 1864.

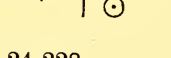
SHASHANQ III., the successor of Thekeleth II., reigned about fifty-two years; his Horus name is unknown, but he adopted the prenomen of Rameses II., and called himself "son of Bast, divine prince of Ȧnnu" (Heliopolis). He seems to have carried out some repairs in connexion with the temple of Ȧmen at Thebes, and in an inscription on one of its walls he describes the great gifts which he offered to the god Ȧmen in the 11th, 22nd, 25th, and other years of his reign. At Memphis Shashanq III. worshipped the Apis Bull, and both this city and Heliopolis seem to have been wholly subject to him. At Tanis he built a pylon, of which some slabs inscribed with his cartouches were found by Professor Petrie in the course of his excavations.[1] At Bubastis Shashanq III. did nothing, in fact, the successors of Osorkon II., the builder of the Hall of the Set Festival, neglected their capital, and allowed its temples to fall into ruin. It is not easy to see why they did so, but it, probably, resulted from want of money caused by the application of the funds at the disposal of the king to the maintenance of the temple and priesthood of Ȧmen at Thebes, instead of to the needs of the Bubastite capital. The later kings of Bubastis brought their dynasty to an end chiefly by the attempt to conquer the Thebaïd by peaceful means; they can have known little of the past history of their country if they imagined that such a thing was possible. The monuments belonging to

[1] *Tanis*, vol. ii. p. 29.

the reign of Shashanq III. are few, and give us no information about the history of the period.

8. 

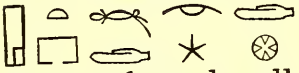
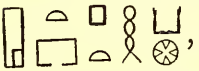
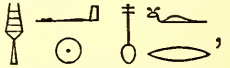
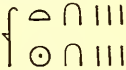
USR-MAĀT-RĀ-SETEP-EN-ÀMEN, son of the Sun, PAMÀI-meri-Àmen.

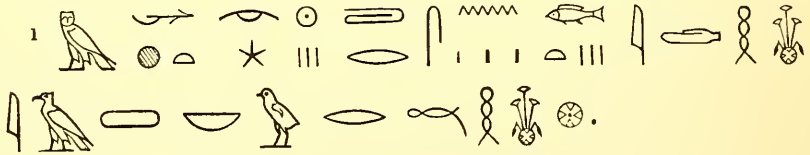
PAMÀI, the successor of Shashanq III., appears to have reigned for two years only; contemporaneous monuments of this king are very rare, and consist chiefly of scarabs whereon his name appears with the addition of "ḥetch Ḥeru,"  .[1] In the second year of the reign of this king, as we learn from a stele found in the Serapeum by Mariette,[2] an Apis Bull died, and was buried in his appointed place in the Serapeum. The stele records that the god,  , was successfully towed along and laid to rest in the "beautiful Àmentet," i.e., the underworld, and that he was placed "in his everlasting abode in the eternal[3] house" on the first day of the second month of the season Pert (Mekhir), and it goes on to say that Apis was born "in the time of the 28th year,"  , of

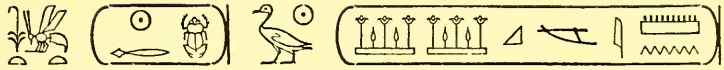
[1] Brit. Mus., Nos. 32,378, 32,399, 26,595, 24,228.

[2] See *Le Sérapéum*, Paris, 1857, pl. 28.

[3]  .

his Majesty Shashanq III. then deceased. They, i.e., the priests and people, "had been seeking for his "beauties in every place in the country of the North," and at last they found him in the city of Ḥet-sheṭâbeṭ,  , and after they had led him about through all the places and islands of the Delta[1] for three months, they took him to Memphis,  , and he was led into the temple of Ptaḥ of the Southern Wall by the high priest of Memphis, whose title was "ur kherp ḥem,"  , and who also officiated as a Sam (or, Setem) priest, the great chief of the tribe of the Māshauasha, Paṭā-Âstet, the son of Thekeleth and Thes-batet-peru, on the first day of the second month of the season Shat (Paophi) of the 28th year of the reign of Shashanq III. When this Apis was buried "his happy life,"  , had been twenty-six years,  . This last statement is of peculiar interest, for if the bull was born in the 28th year of the reign of Shashanq III., and died in the second year of the reign of Pamâi the successor of Shashanq III., aged twenty-six years, it follows that Shashanq III. reigned many more years than was usually supposed.

[1]  .

9. 

RĀ-ĀA-KHEPER, son of the Sun, SHASHA[N]Q-MERI-ÀMEN.

SHASHANQ IV., or SHISHÀK IV., was the son of Pamài, and as on one of the stelae found in the Serapeum it is stated that an Apis (the third [1]) died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, it is certain that he ruled over Egypt for thirty-seven years at least. The prenomen of this king, surmounted by a disk with plumes,  , is found twice on the rocks on the Island of Sâhal in the First Cataract,[2] and in the few words of text which accompany one of them (No. 103) it seems as if Shashanq IV. had made some expedition into Nubia to subdue the "vile Nubians," but no inscription of a historical character which supports this view has as yet been found. The monuments of the reign of Shashanq IV. are few, and consist chiefly of small objects such as scarabs,[3] and rings[4]; it is noteworthy that no inscriptions of this king have been found either in the South or North of Egypt, notwithstanding the fact that he reigned nearly forty years.

[1] The first died in his fourth year, and the second in his eleventh year; see Mariette, *op. cit.*, p. 21, and part iii. pl. 30.

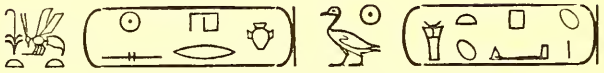
[2] Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 70, Nos. 8 and 10; J. de Morgan, *Catalogue*, pp. 90 and 91 (Nos. 87 and 103).

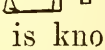
[3] See Brit. Mus., Nos. 4361, 18,520, 24,230, 24,254, 27,280, 32,307.

[4] See Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 559.

CHAPTER V.

THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY. FROM TANIS.

1.  Rā-se-her-ab, son of the Sun, Peṭā-sa-Bast.

Peṭā-Bast, i.e., "The gift of Bast," the *Πετουβαστις* of Manetho, who says that he reigned forty (variant, twenty-five) years, and that in his time the Olympiads began (see Cory, *Anc. Fragments*, p. 124), appears to have been connected with the royal family of Bubastis, or with one of the royal priestly families of Thebes. Whether he reigned twenty-five or forty years it is a remarkable fact that the monuments of his reign are so rare, for besides the few objects enumerated by Wiedemann,[1] i.e., a small shrine at Paris, a wooden flat statue of Isis, and a bronze torso of the king inlaid with gold, to which may also be added the scarab in the British Museum (No. 17,269, inscribed ), scarcely any other monument of Peṭā-Bast is known. His capital was Bubastis, but his authority was

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 561.

respected at Thebes, a fact proved by the inscriptions which M. G. Legrain[1] discovered on the front of the stone quay at Thebes, which was built with special care in order to protect the temple of Åmen at Karnak from the inundations of the Nile which, even in those remote days, threatened to undermine the building and make it fall. Here we have forty-five inscriptions, the earliest of which is dated in the sixth year of Shashanq I., and the latest in the nineteenth year of Psammetichus I.; among these are inscriptions which mark the highest point reached by the waters of the Nile in the 16th, 19th, and 23rd years of the reign of Peṭā-Bast. Side by side, however, with the inscription dated in the 16th year of his reign we find one which indicates that the 16th year of that king was equivalent to the second year of a king of the South and North called Āuuth-meri-Åmen.[2] Of the history of this "king" Āuuth we know nothing, but we may safely assume that he was the high priest of Åmen-Rā at Thebes, and that at some period unknown to us he arrogated to himself the title "King of the South and North," just as so many of his predecessors had done. His rule must have lasted but a few years, for in the

[1] See *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxiv. p. 111 ff.

[2] The text reads:  ,

Lɘgrain, *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxiv., 1896, p. 114, No. 26.

19th year of the reign of Peṭā-Bast we find that the name of another high priest of Åmen stands side by side with that of this king. Peṭā-Bast is also mentioned in a historical romance found in Demotic in which he and his kinsfolk, among whom is specially mentioned the governor of the nome of Mendes, are parties in a great dispute with Pamåi the Less of Heliopolis, and Paqrur, the governor of the East, concerning a suit of armour which was stolen.[1] Many of the statements in this document appear to be based on historical facts.

2. 

RĀ-ĀA-KHEPER-SETEP-EN-ÅMEN, son of the Sun, ÅMEN-RĀ-MERI-UASARKENÅ.

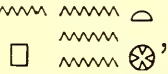
The existence of UASARKEN III., or Osorkon III., was thought to be made known to us by a leather tablet in the British Museum (No. 7871*e*) on which the king is represented in the act of worshipping Åmen, who is depicted in the form of the ithyphallic god Åmsu, or Min; but an examination of this object and the others of the class proves that they all belong to Osorkon I.[2] In a gold aegis of the goddess Sekhet,

[1] See Krall, *Ein neuer historischer Roman* (in Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung, Erzh. Rainer, vi. 19 f.)

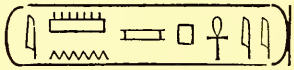
[2] Brit. Mus. Nos. 7871, 7872, and 15,581–15,588.

now preserved in the Louvre,[1] she is represented with the head of a lioness, and on each side of her head is a hawk; on the breast-plate are engraved rows of papyrus and lotus flowers arranged in semicircles, and inscribed on the back are the words, "Royal mother, royal wife, Taṭā-Bast,  ," and "son of the Sun, Uasark[en], living for ever." Thus we obtain the name of the queen mother, and probably that of Osorkon III. Of the acts and deeds of Osorkon III. we know nothing, but it is tolerably certain that he is to be identified with Osorkon, the king of Bubastis, who is mentioned in the stele of Piānkhi, and that it was in his reign that Egypt was invaded and overrun by the Ethiopians. It will be remembered that when Shashanq I. and his successors became kings of Egypt the priest-kings of Thebes lost the great power which they had enjoyed under the Tanite kings of the XXIst Dynasty, and that nothing but poverty and ruin stared them in the face. In these straits, probably soon after the removal of the royal mummies to their hiding-place in Dêr al-Baḥarî by Shashanq's son Āuuapeth, the high priest and his followers fled from Thebes, and from the misery and want which they had brought upon the Thebans by a rule which drained the resources of the Thebaïd for the benefit of a body of arrogant

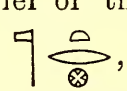
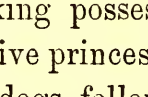
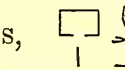
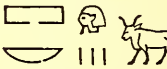
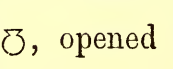
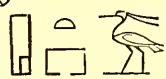
[1] One metal cast of this beautiful object is in the British Museum (No. 34,939), and another is in the collection of Mr. F. G. Hilton Price; see his *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities*, London, 1897, No. 2520.

priests, who were regardless of the ruin into which they were leading their country, and took refuge at Nept,  , or Nepita,  , the Napata of classical writers. Here they were well received by the Nubians, or "Ethiopians" as they are sometimes called, and here they settled down and prepared to spread abroad the cult of Àmen-Rā, "the king of the gods."

It is usually said that Àmen-ḥetep III. set up here, just under the mountain called Gebel Barkal, a building which was part temple and part fortress, but there is no evidence that he did so, for the lions, inscribed with his name and that of Tut-ānkh-Àmen, which were found there were probably brought to that site from the temple at Soleb. It is quite possible that there was a fortified Egyptian outpost at Gebel Barkal as far back as the XIIth Dynasty, and also again under the XVIIIth Dynasty, during which latter period the dominant worship among the Egyptian garrisons in Nubia would be that of Àmen-Rā; but it is very doubtful if the worship of Àmen was at all general among the Nubians until the arrival of the fugitive priests at Napata. As soon as they were settled in that city they began to meddle in the politics of the country, and gradually to egg on the Nubian kings to make an attack upon Egypt. They saw plainly that under the Tanite and Bubastite Dynasties the country was slowly but surely splitting up into a

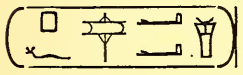
number of principalities, each of which was ruled by a chief who, either through the connexion or relationship of his wife with one or other of the old royal houses of Egypt, or through the strength of his arm, declared himself to be the "king" of the country. The priest-kings, of course, regarded the Thebaïd as their kingdom by right, and lost no time in persuading the native rulers of Nubia to go down the river and seize it, intending to re-establish themselves and the worship of the Nubian Åmen once more in Thebes. For some time nothing was done, but under the rule of Pi-ānkhi, "beloved of Åmen,"  , who was probably a descendant of some "royal son of Kush," the Nubians made an expedition into Egypt; this Nubian invasion took place in the first month of the season Shat, which corresponds roughly with September, in the 21st year of his reign, i.e., about B.C. 750. When Pi-ānkhi had conquered Egypt and returned to his capital at Gebel Barkal he caused a record of the fact to be inscribed in hieroglyphic characters upon a huge stele which was set up in the temple which he built at Gebel Barkal, the "Holy Mountain,"  , of the Egyptian texts. In 1863 a paper "squeeze" of the inscription was sent to M. E. de Rougé by Mariette, who subsequently with great difficulty succeeded in having the monument itself brought to Cairo, and the following facts concerning Piānkhi's great expedition are derived from

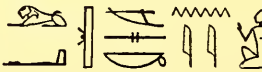
the official account of it which he caused to be set up in his temple.[1]

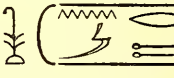
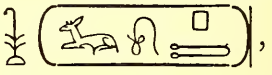
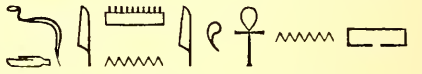
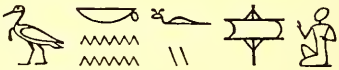
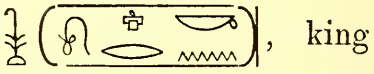
Piānkhi was at Napata when news was brought to him that Taf-nekhteth,  (who has been identified by some with "Tnephachthus, the father of Bocchoris"),[2] the "chief of the West" and governor of the city of Netert,  , had seized a number of important cities in the western part of the Delta, and that he had sailed up the Nile to the south, where he had succeeded in taking possession of the country; he had reduced the native princes thoroughly, and they became to him "as dogs following at his heels." The cities of Mer-Tem,  , Crocodilopolis,  , Oxyrhynchus,  , and other great cities received him gladly, and when all the towns on the west bank of the Nile had opened their gates to him he turned his attention to those on the eastern bank. Here Aphroditopolis,  , Suten-ḥet,  , Taiutchait,  , and Heliopolis,  , opened their gates to

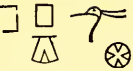
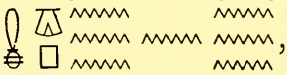
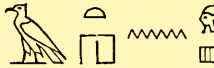
[1] For the text see Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pll. 1-6; E. de Rougé, *Chrestomathie Égyptienne*, fasc. iv.; for translations in English see Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 240; and *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 79 ff.

[2] Τνέφαχθον τὸν Βοκχόριδος τοῦ σοφοῦ πατέρα. Diodorus, i. 45 (ed. Didot, p. 37).

him, and the first serious opposition which he met with was at Suten-ḥenen,  (Herakleopolis), a city which at that time was ruled by a chief called Pef-tchau-āā-Bast, whose name is placed in a cartouche,  . Tafnekhteth besieged Suten-ḥenen, and as it is said that he placed it in the position of "having its tail in its mouth," and that no one could either go in or come out, it is tolerably certain that it was soon in very evil case; meanwhile a number of chiefs of cities fled to the south, and placed themselves under the protection of the Nubian king at Napata.

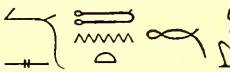
As soon as Pi-ānkhi heard what Tafnekhteth had done, and how he would soon be in possession of the Thebaïd and of its chief city Thebes, the sanctuary of the god Åmen, whom the Nubians now regarded as their great god, he sent orders to his generals Puaarma,  , and Lāmersekni,  , to capture all men, and animals, and boats of the enemy, and not to allow the husbandmen to go out to work in the fields, and to besiege the district of Hermopolis,  , and to make daily attacks upon it; these orders, it seems, were strictly carried out. Meanwhile the king himself was not idle, for he collected all his soldiers, and having given them a number of instructions as to their behaviour and method of attack, he sent them down the Nile into

Egypt and followed them himself as soon as possible. If the expedition left Napata at the end of August, or beginning of September, the period of the year which is indicated in the first line of the stele, the troops must have arrived in Upper Egypt very quickly, for the last great final rise of the Nile reaches Napata soon after the end of August, and shallow boats could with rowing reach Thebes in a very few weeks. When the Nubian troops arrived in Egypt they found that Tafnekhteth had assembled his forces at Herakleopolis, and that he was supported by Nemareth,  , king of Hermopolis, Āuuapeth,  , the chief of the Māshauasha or Libyans, Shashanq of Pa-Åsår-neb-Ṭeṭ,  (Busiris), Tcheṭ-Åmen-åuf-ānkh of Mendes,   , and his son Ānkh-Ḥeru, a military officer, prince Bak-en-nefi,  , and his son Nes-na-qeṭi,  , a military officer, Osorkon III.,  , king of Bubastis, and many other high officials of cities and towns in the Delta. The Nubians attacked the allies on the river, and captured large numbers of their boats, and inflicted upon them the "greatest possible defeat;" nevertheless some of the enemy escaped in their boats

and fled to Pa-peḳ,  , a town lying considerably to the north of Oxyrhynchus. The battle was renewed on the following day, and though the Nubians killed large numbers of men and horses, a great many of the enemy succeeded in effecting their escape to the north. What happened after these events is unknown, but the stele goes on to say that Nemareth made his way back into his own city Hermopolis, which the Nubians at once began to besiege. Meanwhile a report of the engagement had been sent to Piānkhi, who became as "furious as a panther" when he read it; he swore a terrible oath by his "father Åmen" as to what he would do to his officers unless they utterly destroyed the enemy, and promised that he would make the foe "taste his fingers" after he had celebrated at Thebes the great festival on the second day of the third month of the season Shat. His generals in Egypt carried on the war with great vigour, and they took Oxyrhynchus by assault "like a water-flood,"  , and they captured Ta-Tehen,  , after having breached its walls by means of a battering ram[1]; at this last place the slaughter was terrible, and among the slain was the son of Tafnekhteth. Flushed with victory they marched on to the north and attacked

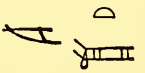
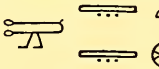
[1]  , "one made a wooden tower for hurling at it."

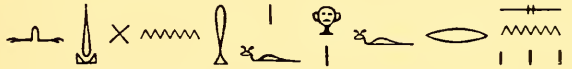
Ḥet-Bennu, or Hipponon, but as the city opened its gates to them there was no fighting. Reports of all these successes were sent to the king, but he was not satisfied with them.

On the ninth day of the month Thoth Piānkhi arrived in Thebes, and having performed certain religious ceremonies there, set out to join his troops who were besieging Tafnekhteth in Hermopolis. On his arrival he pitched his tent to the south-west of Hermopolis,  ,[1] and began to press the siege with vigour. He raised up mounds round about the walls and built up towers from which the archers could pour flights of arrows into the town continually, and the slingers could cast stones with their leather slings. On the third day Hermopolis capitulated, and Nemareth sent his wife Nes-thent-meḥ,  , accompanied by abundant gifts, to entreat Piānkhi's wives to beseech their lord to have mercy upon him. The Nubian ladies received the queen kindly, and finally Nemareth himself came to Piānkhi leading "a horse with his right hand and holding a sistrum made of gold and lapis-lazuli in his left," and bringing great gifts. Piānkhi pardoned him, and then went into the temple of the Eight Gods, and sacrificed oxen, calves, and geese in honour of Thoth, whilst the priests proclaimed that Horus himself in the person of Piānkhi had come to rest in his city! After Piānkhi had paid

[1] Ḳhemennu, or Ḳhemenu, the city of the "Eight Gods."

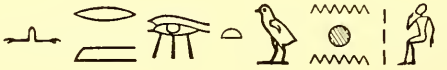
a visit to the palace of Nemareth he inspected his grounds, and cattle and stables, taking at the same time the opportunity to scold the grooms for having put the horses on too short rations during the siege; and the ladies of Nemareth's *harîm* came and prostrated themselves before him, but the text assures us that the Nubian king "did not turn his face towards them."[1] Soon after this Pef-tchau-āā-Bast, the king of Herakleopolis, came, tendering his submission and offering gifts to Piānkhi, who forgave him; Piānkhi, having set apart for the god Åmen a generous share of the booty which he had obtained, turned his face towards the north, and sailed down the Nile to Le-ḥent,  (i.e., Illahûn), which was situated at the head of the canal that led into the Fayyûm. Soon after his arrival there the fortress Pa-kherp (or sekhem)-kheper-Rā[2] capitulated, but Piānkhi allowed Tafnekhteth and his soldiers to march out before his own troops occupied it.

As Piānkhi advanced towards Memphis, city after city opened its gates to him, e.g., Mer-tem,  , or Mêdûm, and Thet-tauit,  , a place which seems to have been situated about fifty miles south of Memphis. At length Piānkhi arrived at

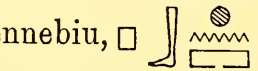
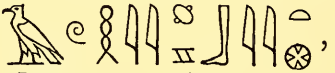
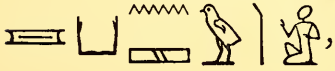
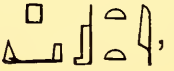
[1]  (line 63).

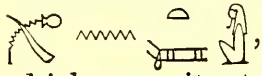
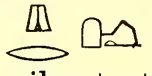
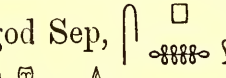
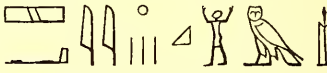
[2]  .

Memphis, which closed its gates in his face, but he addressed the people and begged them not to fight with him, and told them that he was willing to sacrifice to Ptaḥ, and to perform the rites of the god Seker,  , and to worship the gods of Memphis, and promised if they admitted him that not even the children should cry.[1] But whilst Piānkhi and his troops were waiting for a favourable opportunity to take the city, the prince of Saïs (Tafnekhteth) entered Memphis, and putting himself at the head of the 8000 men who formed its garrison, he exhorted them to defend the city at all costs, especially as there was abundance of food stored in it, whilst he went into the country to the north and bribed the chiefs of the cities there to lend him soldiers for reinforcements; thus saying, he mounted his horse and rode away, being, the text assures us, "afraid of his Majesty," i.e., Piānkhi. On the morrow Piānkhi took a boat and sailed along the north wall of the city, for the waters of the Nile touched the walls, and boats could be brought up alongside of them, and he saw that the walls were well defended, and that they had been recently built, and that there was no means of getting into the city on that side. Finally he decided that the only way of obtaining an entrance into Memphis was by means of the boats, and he set to work in

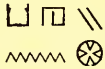
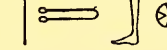
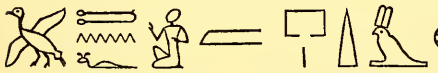
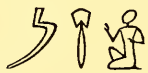
[1]  (line 86).

the following way. He made his soldiers bring their boats close to the mass of boats which were ranged by the city wall, with their bows projecting over the wall into the houses inside it, and ordered them to hem them in in such a way that it would be impossible to withdraw them. When this had been done Piānkhi, who was directing the operations in person, ordered his soldiers to leave their own boats and to pass over from them into the boats of the enemy drawn up by the city wall, and to climb from them over the wall and so into the houses of the city; this they did, and after a short time a considerable number of Nubians had entered Memphis. So Piānkhi swept over Memphis "like a water-flood," and slew many men, and captured many prisoners.

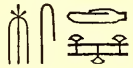
Piānkhi's first act was to send men to guard the property of the god Ptaḥ, and afterwards he poured out a libation to the lords,  , of Memphis, and purified the city with natron and incense, and finally he performed the ceremonies and offered up the sacrifices which were expected from a king when he appeared in state in the Temple of the Southern Wall. The neighbouring towns of Ḥeri-peṭmâi,  , Pebekhennebiu,  , and Tauḥibit,  , tendered their submission, and Āuuapeth, Ȧkaneshu,  , Peṭā-Ȧstetȧ,  , and

all the chiefs of the Delta brought in their gifts to him. On the following day Piānkhi crossed the Nile and performed a purification ceremony of the god Tem,  , in Kher-āḥa,  , a town which was situated about eight miles to the south of the modern Cairo, and offered up sacrifices to the company of the gods in the temple of the gods of Àmḥet,  , and he made his way into Heliopolis over the mountain of Kher-āḥa, by the path of the god Sep,  . Piānkhi then went to the camp,  , on the north-west of the town of Àáti,  , where "he performed the ceremony of "purification, and he purified himself in the heart of "the land of coolness; he washed his face in the milk "of Nut, wherein Rā washeth his face [daily]. He "went to Shāi-qa-em-Ànnu,  , "and at sunrise he made a great offering therein of "white oxen, milk, *ānti* incense, incense, and sweet-"smelling woods. He went into the temple of Rā, and "he entered therein with adoration. The *kher ḥeb* "priest recited a prayer for driving away devils from "the king, who performed the ceremony of the gate, "and having censed himself and made himself cere-"monially pure, he poured out a libation, and brought "flowers and perfume to [the shrine of Rā] Ḥet-Benben, "  . He ascended the steps of

"the great sanctuary that he might see Rā in Ḥet-
"Benben. He was entirely alone, he drew back the
"bolt, he opened the doors [of the shrine], he saw his
"father Rā in Ḥet-Benben, he moved (?) the Māt[1]
"boat of Rā and the Sektet[2] boat of Temu. He shut
"the doors and set on them a seal sealed with the
"seal of the king, and he gave orders to the priests,
"saying, 'I have set the seal; let no other king
"approach thereto.'"

While Piānkhi was at Heliopolis Osorkon III. came and tendered his submission, and when he had gone further north to Kaheni,  , all the chiefs of the neighbourhood came and submitted to him, including Peṭā-Åstet; from him Piānkhi received large gifts, among them being a number of fine horses. The other great chiefs who submitted to him were Āuuapeth of Thentremu,[3]  , and Taån,  , Tcheṭ-Åmen-åuf-ānkh of Mendes, and his son Ānkh-Ḥeru, Åkanesh, prince of Sebennytus,  , Pathenef of Pa-Sept,  , Pa-Ma,  , the Libyan chief of Busiris, Nesnaqeṭi the Libyan chief of Ka-ḥeseb, Nekht-Ḥeru-na-shennu, and a number of priests and others, viz., Penth-bekhent,

[1] The boat of the rising sun. [2] The boat of the setting sun.
[3] A city in the east of the Delta, probably near Tanis.

Peṭā-Ḥeru-sam-taui, Ḥurebasa, Tcheṭkhiāu, and Pabas. Meanwhile Tafnekhteth, the prince of Saïs and Memphis, the originator of the confederacy, had hidden himself in the Delta, but Piānkhi's soldiers obtained news of him, and discovered that he had set fire to his palace, and had entrenched himself in a fortified place called Mesṭ,  , with such followers as were left to him. The Nubians ran him down, however, and Peṭā-Åstet, who led them, declared that they had killed every man they had found there. Tafnekhteth then sent to Piānkhi a messenger who sued for pardon for his master, and promised on his behalf that if the king would forgive Tafnekhteth his offences, he would go to the temple of Neith and swear an oath of fidelity to Piānkhi. This Piānkhi agreed to do, and having sent the chief *kher ḥeb* priest, Peṭā-Åmen-neb-nest-taui, and his general Puarma to Tafnekhteth, the former rebel went to the temple and swore a solemn oath that he would never trangress the king's commands, nor depart from his words; when this had been done Piānkhi accepted the person of Tafnekhteth. About this time news reached Piānkhi that the cities of Cynopolis,  , and Aphroditopolis,  , had opened their gates, and that all the nomes of the south, and north, and west, and east, had submitted to his Majesty, and they brought their gifts to him. The inscription concludes with a statement that Piānkhi invited the two kings of the North, and the two kings

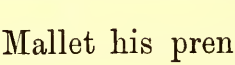
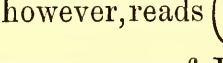
of the South, and all the princes of the Delta, to a solemn meeting before his return to Nubia, but only Nemareth was allowed to enter the royal abode, for he was neither impure[1] nor an eater of fish;[2] what happened during the meeting is not stated, but soon after it had taken place the royal boats were laden with the products of Khar (Syria) and Neter-taui (Punt), and with gold, silver, copper, and apparel, etc., and Piānkhi sailed up the river on his road to Napata.

Such in brief are the contents of one of the most interesting historical inscriptions which have come down to us, and it throws an extremely important light upon the relations which existed between Nubia and Egypt before Piānkhi's invasion. It will be noted that the Nubian king already had generals and troops in the Thebaïd, which seems to indicate that Upper Egypt was regarded as a part of Nubia before Piānkhi's time. The whole tenor of the inscription shows that Nubia had become at that time a veritable counterpart of Egypt, and that the Nubians had adopted the civilization of Egypt as far as possible. Piānkhi was no barbarian invading Egypt for the mere sake of conquest and spoil, but a man who was seeking to guard his own interests and country, as he understood

1  *āmā.*

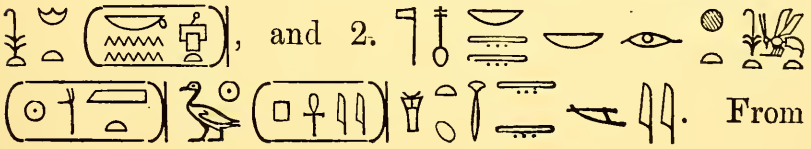
2  *àm remu* (line 151).

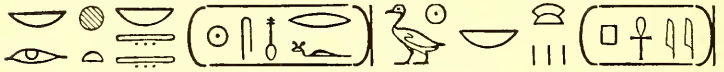
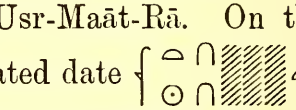
them; he worshipped the gods of Egypt, he spared their temples, and though when he struck he struck hard and swiftly, he was on the whole a merciful conqueror. There were no doubt many political reasons why he did not insist on the vanquished king Tafnekhteth making his submission in person, but still we know that this king of Saïs and Memphis had actually reigned eight years, and it was a generous act on the part of the Nubian conqueror to spare him such a terrible humiliation in the sight of his former allies in the Delta and Middle Egypt.

The information that Tafnekhteth, or Tafnekht, reigned eight years is supplied by a stele published by M. Mallet in *Recueil*, tom. xviii. p. 4 ff., of which an illustration is given by M. Maspero in his *Hist. Anc.*, tom. iii. p. 181. The line giving the date shows that Tafnekht styled himself  , and that, in fact, he assumed the titles and rank of the ancient kings of Egypt. According to M. Mallet his prenomen was  , which M. Naville, however, reads  , Rā-shepses; the form of his name as son of Rā given on the stele is  , Tafnekht. On the rounded part of the stele is a winged disk, and below are two scenes; in one of these the king is making an offering of a field,  , to a god wearing the crowns of the

South and North, and in the other he is making an offering of a field to Net (Neith, the lady of Saïs (?)),  . The text below records that the king made a grant of land to the temple of this goddess, and contains "awful imprecations" upon anyone who shall dare to alienate the revenues of it from the purpose for which the king intended them to be used.

Of the later life and deeds of Piānkhi we know nothing, but he appears to have carried out some repairs or restoration of a temple at Gebel Barkal, because his name is found upon some of the slabs by the tops of the pillars which stood there until comparatively recently. He did not return to Egypt, and as the result affairs in the Delta assumed their usual aspect, and Osorkon III. at Bubastis, Tafnekhteth at Saïs, Nemareth in Hermopolis, Pef-tchauāā-Bast at Herakleopolis, and the other kings of the confederacy soon became as powerful as they were before.

Whether Piānkhi possessed a prenomen or not we cannot say from the stele found at Gebel Barkal, but E. de Rougé and others believed that he did, and in proof quoted the inscriptions found on the base of a statue of the goddess Bast now preserved in the Museum of the Louvre. The texts read: 1.  , and 2.  . From

these we learn that the prenomen of a king called Piānkhi was Usr-Maāt-Rā, and that his wife was called Kennesat, but whether he is to be identified with Piānkhi-meri-Ȧmen, the Nubian conqueror of Egypt, is hard to say. On a mummy bandage in the British Museum (No. 6640) a Piānkhi is mentioned, and he is called "the lord, the maker of things, lord of the two lands, "Senefer-f-Rā, son of the Sun, lord of risings, Piānkhi,"  , but it is clear that he cannot be the same king as the Piānkhi whose prenomen was Usr-Maāt-Rā. On this same bandage we find the mutilated date  .

In the King List of Manetho the XXIIIrd Dynasty is brought to an end by two kings called Psammus (*Ψαμμοῦς*), and Zet (*Ζήτ*), who are said to have reigned ten and thirty-one years respectively. Some think that Psammus was the son of Osorkon III., and this is very probable, but proof for this view is wanting, for up to the present no monuments either of Psammus or Zet have been discovered. Concerning Zet four theoretical identifications have been put forward. The late Dr. Brugsch thought that he was to be identified with Tafnekhteth, king of Saïs and Memphis, the great opponent of Piānkhi-meri-Ȧmen of Napata, i.e., with Tnephakhthos the father of Bocchoris (Diodorus i. 45); Lepsius sought to identify him with Sethon, the priest of Hephaistos (Herodotus ii. 141), and to place him in the XXIVth Dynasty after Bocchoris; and Wiedemann

thinks[1] it just possible that he is to be identified with the blind king Anysis (Herodotus ii. 137–140), of the city of Anysis, who reigned over Egypt for fifty years. According to the legend, Anysis fled to the fens when Egypt was invaded by the Ethiopians under Sabacon (Shabaka), and when he left the country this king resumed the government of Egypt. He lived on an island formed of ashes and earth, and refused to allow any evil-doer, no matter what the crime was of which he had been convicted, to be put to death. Finally, Lauth wished to identify Zet with Kashta, the Ethiopian. These different views, however, only indicate the difficulties which are met with in Egyptian history when the monuments fail us, and illustrate the difference in the opinions which it is possible for scholars to hold about the same subject when theory takes the place of fact.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 577.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY. FROM SAÏS.

 Rā-uaḥ-ka, son of the Sun, Bakenrenef.

Bakenrenef, according to Manetho, was the only king of the XXIVth Dynasty, and he reigned six years; this statement is supported by the evidence of a stele found in the Serapeum at Ṣaḳḳâra, whereon it is said that on the fifth day of the month Thoth of the sixth year of his reign an Apis bull died, and was buried in the same chamber as the one which had died in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Shashanq IV.[1] The information to be derived from the monuments concerning this king is scanty, and nearly all that is known of him is derived from Greek tradition. According to Diodorus (i. 34) he was the son of Tnephakhthos,[2] in Egyptian Tafnekhteth, the king of Saïs, whose

[1] Mariette, *Sérapeum*, part iii. pl. 34.

[2] According to Diodorus (i. 45), "When this king was leading an "army in Arabia, through many barren and desert places, his "provision failed, so that for the space of one day he was forced

acts have already been described. The same writer (i. 94) enumerates six great lawgivers in Egypt, among whom comes Bocchoris,[1] who is described as a "wise "and prudent man; he established everything that "concerned the kings, and prescribed exact rules and "laws for the making of contracts. He was so wise, "and of so piercing a judgment in his decisions, that "many of his sentences, for their excellency, are kept "in memory to this very day. He was, they say, of a "very weak constitution of body,[2] and extraordinary "covetous." Elsewhere it is said (i. 79) that he made a law that "if a man borrowed money, and the lender "had no writing to show for it, and the other denied "it upon oath, he should be quit of the debt; to that "end, therefore, in the first place, they were to sacrifice "to the gods, as men making conscience, and tender

"to take up with such mean food as the common people, among "whom he happened then to be, could supply him with, which he "ate so heartily, and relished with so much delight, as for the "future he forbade all excess and luxury, and cursed that king "who first brought in that sumptuous and luxurious way of "living; and this change and alteration of meat, and drink, and "bedding, was so delightful to him, that he ordered the curse "before mentioned to be entered in the sacred records in the "temple of Jupiter at Thebes; which was the chief reason why "the fame and reputation of Menis became to be clouded in future "generations."—(Booth's Translation, p. 51).

[1] The other five were Mnevis, Sasyches, Sesostris, Amāsis, and Darius, father of Xerxes.

[2] Compare Diodorus (i. 65), "Bocchoris, a very little man for "body, and of a mean and contemptible presence; but as to his "wisdom and prudence, far excelling all the kings that ever were "before him in Egypt."

"and scrupulous in taking of an oath." Several other Greek writers[1] extol the simplicity of the life of Bocchoris and praise his judicial acumen and justice, and centuries after his death wealthy noblemen in Italy decorated the walls of their houses with scenes in which the Egyptian king was depicted giving his decisions in the cases of the two women who both claimed to be the mother of a child, and of the two beggars, each of whom swore that a certain cloak was his property, and of the three beggars, each of whom declared that he was the rightful owner of a basket of food.[2] On the other hand, Aelian[3] takes the view that Bocchoris did not deserve the reputation which he had acquired for judicial acumen and for a well-balanced and even mind and disposition, but that his nature was exactly the opposite, and goes on to say that he was once so irreligious as to make a savage bull fight with the sacred Mnevis Bull, and that Mnevis was grievously wounded in the side by the horns of the other bull, and died in consequence. By this act Bocchoris fell into shame and disgrace, and the Egyptians hated him ever after. The same writer (xii. 3, ed. Didot, p. 202) tells a story, in which, however, he has no belief, to the effect that in the days of Bocchoris a lamb was born which had eight legs, two tails, two heads, and four horns, and

[1] They are enumerated by Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 578, 579.

[2] For the authorities see Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. iii. p. 246 note 2.

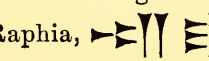
[3] *De Nat. Animalium*, xi. 11 (ed. Didot, p. 191).

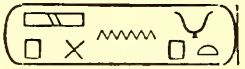
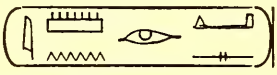
which had the power of human speech; Manetho also says (Cory, *op. cit.*, p. 126) that a sheep spoke in the reign of Bocchoris, but he gives no details of the physical characteristics of the animal. The legend of this lamb has also been found by Prof. Krall in a Demotic papyrus preserved in the collection of the Archduke Rainer, in which it is said that the animal portended danger from Assyria, that the images of the gods of Egypt should be taken to Nineveh (?), but should be brought back after a period of nine hundred years, when a new era of peace and prosperity would begin in Egypt.[1] Professor Wiedemann thought[2] that the number 990, which follows in Manetho after his statement about the length of the reign of Bocchoris, had reference to some chronological calculation, and judging by Prof. Krall's discovery it seems as if he were right. Legends of the kind which have grown up round the name of Bocchoris only prove that the Greeks possessed no genuine historical information about him.[3]

After the death of Piānkhi-meri-Åmen, the Nubian conqueror of Egypt, the kingdom passed into the hands of one of his descendants, whose name is unknown to

[1] Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 151; Krall, *Festgaben für M. Büdinger*, p. 3 ff.

[2] *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 139.

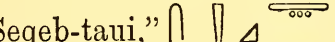
[3] There is no satisfactory evidence for the statement that Bocchoris was the king who fought against Sargon, king of Assyria, at Raphia,  *Ra-pi-ḫu*.

us. Whilst this event was taking place at Napata, the kingdom of the South in Egypt was being ruled from Thebes by an Ethiopian, who is called simply "king of the South, KASHTA,"  , and when Piānkhi died Kashta assumed the sovereignty over the Thebaïd and Middle Egypt. What claim he had to the throne is unknown, but it is possible that he was a son of Piānkhi, who had been acting as viceroy for his father at Thebes. He must have had some claim to it, either through his father, who had been solemnly acknowledged as king of all Egypt by all her great gods, or through his mother, who was probably connected with some family descended from the priest-kings at Thebes. Kashta married a wife called Shep-en-ȧpt,  , who was a priestess of Ȧmen of the rank of "neter ṭuat,"  , i.e., "divine adorer," or "morning star," and who is said to have been a daughter of Osorkon III., whom we know already from the stele of Piānkhi. The issue of this marriage were Shabaka, who afterwards became king, and Ȧmenȧrṭās,  , who became a priestess of the rank of "neter ṭuat."

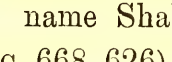
CHAPTER VII.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY. FROM NUBIA.

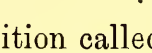
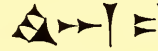
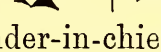
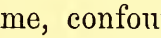
1.  Rā-nefer-ka, son of the Sun, Sha-ba-ka.

Shabaka, Σαβάκων, the son of Kashta, the Nubian king of Thebes, by his wife Shep-en-ȧpt, was the first of three kings of the Nubian Dynasty of Egypt, and reigned about twelve years; the number of years assigned to his reign by Manetho is eight, but a rock inscription in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât, wherein both he and his sister Ȧmenārṭās are mentioned, is dated in his twelfth year. He adopted a prenomen, and called himself "king of the South and North," and "son of the Sun," like the ancient kings of Egypt, but he only had one name to distinguish him in his three capacities of the representative of Horus, and lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet, and the Horus of gold, i.e., "Seqeb-taui,"  . Of the circumstances which attended the accession of Shabaka to the throne of Egypt we know nothing, but it is quite certain that he

discovered how impossible it was to rule Egypt from Napata, which was over 750 miles from Thebes, and that he took possession of Egypt, meaning to live there and to make his rule effective, both in the Thebaïd and in the Delta. In the course of his journey through Egypt to the north he appears to have become enraged with Bocchoris, for according to one tradition he burnt him alive, and according to another he flayed him alive. Of his wars the hieroglyphic inscriptions tell us nothing, but we seem to have allusions to one of them in the cuneiform inscriptions and in the Bible. In 2 Kings xvii. 4 it is said that "the king of Assyria found con-"spiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So "king of Egypt, and brought no present to the king "of Assyria, as he had done year by year: therefore the "king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison."

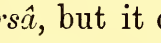
Many scholars take the view that So, סוא, of the Book of Kings (LXX. Σωά, Σουά, Σωβά, Vulgate Sua), and the Shabaka of the Egyptian texts are one and the same person, but others think they are not, and they have good reason for their opinion, for it is not by any means certain that "So" is the transcription of the name Shabaka. In the time of Ashur-bani-pal (B.C. 668–626) the Assyrians were acquainted with the Egyptian name Shabaka, for under the form Sha-ba-ku-u,  , it occurs in the Annals of that king;[1] but it is not certain that they were in

[1] Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. v. pl. 2, l. 22.

the time of Sargon (B.C. 721–705). That Sargon made war on a confederacy of kings of Syria and Palestine, among whom was Ḥanunu, , of Gaza, is quite certain, and we know from his inscriptions that one of the allies of Ḥanunu was an Egyptian officer of high position called Sib',  , or Sib'e, ,[1] and that he was, in fact, the "commander-in-chief (tur-dan-nu) of Egypt,"  . Now the Assyrian name Sib', or Sib'e, not Shabi, or Shabe, as some write the name, confounding  *shab* with *sib*, may very well be the equivalent of the name "So,"[2] or *vice versâ*, but it does not follow that either form is a transliteration of the Egyptian, or Nubian, name Shabaka. Moreover, Sargon's annalist seems to have drawn a distinction between Sib'e, the "tartan of Egypt," and the king of Egypt, for, while he tells us that it was Sib'e who came to help Hanno, or Ḥanunu, of Gaza, and that he escaped by himself "like unto a shepherd[3] whose sheep have been stolen," he says in a line or two lower down that it was "Pharaoh,  , Pi-ir-'-u, of Egypt," who paid tribute to his master. From this

[1] See Sargon's Annals (ed. Winckler), line 27.

[2] Especially if we vocalize the Hebrew name סֵוֵא, or סֵוֵא, or סֵוֵא.

[3] The Assyrian text  seems to indicate that the scribe made a pun on the tartan's name,

passage we see that the title Pharaoh, the Egyptian  , Per-āa, "Great house," was regarded by the Assyrians as a proper name. It is possible that the receipt of tribute from "Pharaoh of Egypt" took place long after the battle of Rapiḥu, from which Sib'e ran away, and that there was an interval of some years between the two events, but it is hardly likely, and there is no evidence that Sargon's victorious arms reached the borders of Egypt on two occasions.

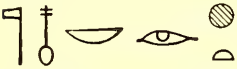
The identification of Sib'e with Shabaka is due to Dr. Oppert, who read the word used in the cuneiform text for "commander-in-chief" *shiltannu* instead of *turdannu*, and, so instead of translating it "Sib'e, tartan of Egypt," he was obliged to translate it "Sib'e, governor of Egypt." On the whole, it seems correct to identify Sib'e with So, and to regard these two kings as being one and the same person; but whether that person be Shabaka, the Nubian king of Egypt, or not, there is at present no evidence to show. Sir Henry Rawlinson weighed all the Assyrian evidence on the subject, and the utmost that he would admit was that if So and Shabaka were one and the same person, So must have been his name before he became king of Egypt, and the results of modern researches into the Egyptian evidence have produced nothing which would have caused Rawlinson to modify his view. When we consider the number of the "kings" who were reigning in different parts of Egypt at the time of Piānkhi's invasion, and also after his death,

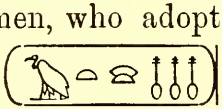
the opinion of some scholars that So or Sib'e was one of these and not the king of all Egypt has considerable weight.

From the fact that Shabaka's name is found on several parts of the temple of Âmen at Karnak and Luxor, and also in the temple at Medînet Habu we may assume that he carried out some repairs on these buildings, but they cannot have been very considerable; at the first-named place he is represented in the act of clubbing a number of chiefs of conquered nations, but the relief has no historical importance, for it is clearly copied from one which was made for some other king. At Memphis and Heliopolis he carried out repairs and made some additions to the temple buildings, and, according to Herodotus, his works in connexion with the walls of the city of Bubastis were very important.[1] Of these works, however, M. Naville found no trace in the course of the excavations which he made at Bubastis in 1887, 1888, and 1889.

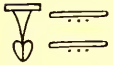
Shabaka was a contemporary of the Assyrian kings Sargon and Sennacherib, but he appears to have died a year or two after the latter ascended the throne of Assyria, B.C. 705, at any rate, he was probably dead before Sennacherib set out to invade Egypt in the course of his third campaign. What his relations with Sargon were cannot be said, but it is clear that some correspondence must have passed between him and the

[1] Shabaka's architectural works are summarised by Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

Egyptian king, because two seals inscribed with the prenomen of Shabaka were found among the tablets of the Royal Library at Nineveh.[1] The king is called on them "Beautiful god, the lord, maker of things,"  , and he is represented in the act of clubbing a number of enemies; the impressions on the clay were probably made by means of a large scarab, and these clay seals (?) appear to have been attached to some object which Shabaka sent from Egypt to Sargon.

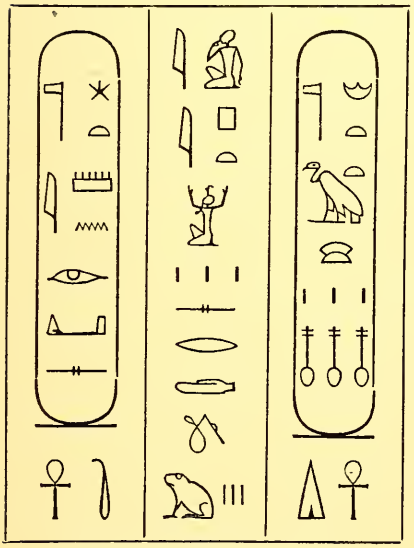
In connexion with Shabaka a brief mention must be made of his sister, Àmenàrṭâs,  , the "neter ṭuat" of Àmen, who adopted as her prenomen MUT-KHĀ-NEFERU,  , and styled herself "royal daughter, royal sister, royal wife." She married a Nubian prince whose cartouches are—

 RĀ-MEN-KHEPER, son of the Sun, P-ĀNKHI.

The Horus name of this king was "Sam taui,"  , i.e., "uniter of the two lands"; his name as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet was "Mes ḥem,"  ; and as the Horus of gold he styled himself "Multiplier of mighty men,"  .

[1] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1867, pp. 173, 174. The registration Nos. are 51–9–2, 43 (see Brit. Mus. Nineveh Gallery, Table-Case I. No. 32), and 81–2–4, 352 (see Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1784).

Àmenàrṭās and Piānkhi had issue the princess Shep-enàpt, who married Psammetichus I., the first king of the XXVIth Dynasty. The name of Àmenàrṭās is found on large numbers of monuments, and she was undoubtedly a zealous restorer of the ancient temples, on which she must have carried out substantial repairs. She added chambers and small sanctuaries to the temples at Karnak, and in the ruins of one of these a beautiful limestone statue of the princess was found; at Medînet Habu her repairs and additions were numerous. Many small objects, e.g., scarabs, inscribed with her names and titles have been found, and most of them come from the neighbourhood of Medînet Habu. Within the last few years the British Museum has acquired a remarkable glazed steatite object, upon which in large, deeply cut, handsome hieroglyphics are found her cartouches and a short prayer. At one end is a perforated projection by which it was probably suspended, and on the flat surface of the other is inscribed the sign ♀; the object seems to be unique, and its use unknown.



Inscription on a steatite roll.
Brit. Mus., No. 29,212.

Both Herodotus and Diodorus have preserved some interesting traditions about Shabaka which are worth quoting in full. Herodotus says (B. R.'s Translation, fol. 108*a* and *b*) :—"After whome, [i.e., Asychis] the "scepter was held by one Anysis a blynde man, in- "habiting in a city called after his owne name Anysis. "In time of whose raigne, Sabbacus King of Aethyopia "invaded Aegypt with a mightie power. Whereat the "poore blinde king greatly affrighted, crope priuily away, "and gayned a priuie couert in the marrishe places of "the countrey, leauyng the gouernement to Sabbacus his "enemie, whiche ruled the same 50. years, whose actes "are mentioned to haue beene these. If any of the "Aegyptians made a trespasse, he neuer used to do any "man to death for his offence, but according to ye "quantity of his fault, to enioyne him to arrere and make "higher by forreine supply of earth and stone, some parte "of the city wherein he dwelt, for which cause, the cities "became uery high and eminent, being much more loftely "situated than before. For first of all in time of Sesos- "tris such earth as was cast out of the trenches (which "were made to geve the water a course to the cities that "were farre off) was employed to the eleuation and "aduancing of the lowe townes, and now agayne under "this Aethyopian they had increase of fresh earth, "and grew to be uery high and lofty.[1] . . . ."

[1] Here follows the description of the temple of Diana (Bast ?) at Bubastis, which is reproduced in the summary at the end of this chapter.

"Likewise they make mention in what maner they "shifted their hands of ye Aethiopian prince, who "admonished in his sleepe by a uision, hastned his "flight to depart ye countrey. There seemed unto him "one standing by his bedside, willing him in any wise "to assemble together ye priests of Aegypt, and to cut "them all asunder by ye waste; which the king pon- "dering in his mind, said thus, I wel perceiue that ye "gods would picke a quarrel agaynst me, that by the "doing of some uillany or other, I might either incur "their hatred, or the displeasure of men, but since the "time of my rule in Aegypt, which by ye oracle was "prefined, is nowe exspired, I will kindle no moe coales "than I may well quench, wherewith departing ye "countrey, he left the gouernmente to ye seed of the "Aegyptians, and retired himself into his owne lande. "For abiding before time in Aethiopia the oracles "which the Aethiopians use, gaue out to the king, that "he shoulde beare rule 50. years in Aegypt, which time "being finished, Sabbacus foretroubled with ye strange "sight of his dreame of his own proper wil departed the "listes of the countrey. Insuing whose flight ye blinde "king forsaking his nest in the fennes, came out, and "shewed his head again, exercising gouernment as he "had done before, hauing wonderfully inlarged the "Iland where he lay, with addition of ashes and fresh "earth. For whosoeuer of the Aegyptians came unto "him either with grayne or other prouision, his manner "was to giue him in charge, that onwitting to the

"Aethiopian prince (who then withheld from him the "right of his kingdome) he should present him with a "loade or two of ashes. The Ile before ye time of "Amyrtaeus was unknowne to any man, named in "the Aegyptian language Elbo, being in bignes. 10 "furlongs."

The good deeds of Shabaka are praised by Diodorus (Booth's Translation, p. 68), who says:—"A long time "after him [i.e., Bocchoris], one Sabach, an Ethiopian, "came to the throne, going beyond all his predecessors "in his worship of the gods, and kindness to his "subjects. Any man may judge, and have a clear "evidence of his gentle disposition in this, that when "the laws pronounced the severest judgment, (I mean "sentence of death), he changed the punishment, and "made an edict, that the condemned persons should be "kept to work in the towns in chains, by whose labour "he raised many mounts, and made many commodious "canals, conceiving by this means, he should not only "moderate the severity of the punishment, but instead "of that which was unprofitable, advance the public "good, by the service and labours of the condemned. "A man may likewise judge of his extraordinary piety, "from his dream, and his abdication of the government; "for the tutelar god of Thebes seemed to speak to him "in his sleep, and told him, that he could not long "reign happily and prosperously in Egypt, unless he "cut all the priests to pieces, when he passed through "the midst of them with his guards and servants;

"which advice being often repeated, he at length sent "for the priests from all parts and told them that if he "staid in Egypt any longer he found that he should "displease God, who never at any time before, by "dreams or visions, commanded any such thing. And "that he would rather be gone and lose his life, being "pure and innocent, than displease God, or enjoy the "crown of Egypt, by staining his life with the horrid "murder of the innocent. And so at length, giving up "the kingdom into the hands of the people, he returned "unto Ethiopia."

2.  Rā-Ṭeṭ-kau, son of the Sun, Sha-ba-ta-ka.

Shabataka, the second king of the XXVth Dynasty, and the Σεβιχώς of Manetho, was the son of Shabaka, and is said by this author to have reigned fourteen years. It is probable that he was associated with his father in the rule of the kingdom some years before he became sole king; support is given to this view by the stele at Turin referred to by Wiedemann,[1] in which we see represented Shep-en-âpt, with her mother Amenârṭās, her husband Piānkhi, and Shabataka, a grouping which proves that all four were contemporaries. The Horus name of Shabataka was "Ṭeṭ khā,"  .

[1] Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 585.

As lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uaṭchet he styled himself, "Making Maāt to rise . . . the two lands,"  ; his name as the Horus of gold was "Resting upon strength,"  ; and in some cartouches containing his name he added the words "beloved of Ȧmen." From the Egyptian inscriptions we learn very little concerning the events of the reign of Shabataka, and very few monuments of his reign remain to us;[1] an ancient tradition says that when he had reigned twelve years he was taken prisoner by Tirhâḳâh and put to death by him. During the reign of Shabataka the Assyrian king Sennacherib set out on his third campaign, which was directed against the group of nations and peoples who were known to the Assyrians as Khatti, and to the Egyptians as Kheta. There is little doubt that he would have made his way sooner into Palestine had events permitted it, but he was obliged to go and quell the revolt which had broken out in Babylon. The ringleader was an old enemy of Sargon, king of Assyria, called Merodach-Baladan, and as soon as he heard that Sargon had been murdered (B.C. 705), he seized the opportunity of overthrowing the government of Babylon. Sennacherib marched against him with a large army, and defeated the hosts of his enemy at Kish; Merodach-Baladan saved himself by flight into the marshes to the south of Babylon, but all his

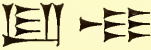
[1] Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 586.

possessions fell into Sennacherib's hands, and the Assyrian king captured seventy-five large, strong cities of Kaldu, and 420 smaller ones in the country round about, and large quantities of gold, and silver, and rich apparel, and all the officials, and palace servants, and women, and slaves of all kinds. On his way back to Assyria he attacked the nomad Arab tribes generically known by the name Aramu, and of them he conquered the Tu'muna, the Rikhikhu, the Yaduḳḳu, the Ubudu, the Kiprî, the Malakhu, the Gurumu, the Ubulum, the Damunu, the Gambulu, the Khindaru, the Ru'ua, the Puḳudu, the Khamranu, the Khagaranu, the Nabatu, and the Li'ta, and captured from them 208,000 men, women, and children, together with immense quantities of horses, sheep, camels, mules, and cattle. He also seated Bel-ibni, who had been reared in the palace of Nineveh, on the throne of Babylon, in the place of Merodach-Baladan.[1]

In his second campaign Sennacherib attacked the Kashshi, and the Yasubigallai, who lived in districts where his chariots could not go, and having captured Bit-Kilamzakh, Khardishpi, Bit Kubatti, and much spoil, he returned to Nineveh and prepared to go to Syria and Palestine to assert his authority in those lands, and to punish Hezekiah, king of Judah, who

[1] The text is given on the Taylor Cylinder in the British Museum; it was first edited by Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. i. plate 37 ff.; and full transcription and translation by Prof. Bezold will be found in Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* vol. i. p. 81 ff.

had joined a league of rebels and who had invoked the assistance of the king of Egypt, who was, presumably, Shabataka. The narrative of the Assyrian annalist makes Sennacherib tell the story thus:—"In my third "campaign I went to the land of Khatti; the fear of "the splendour of my sovereignty overcame Lulî, "(Elulaeus),[1] the king of the city of Sidon, and he fled "to the sea, and I took his territory. Greater Sidon, "and Lesser Sidon, and Bit-Zith, and Ṣariptu (Sarepta), "and Makhalliba, and Ushû, and Akzibi (Ekdippa), "and Akkû (Accho), his strong cities, and his fortresses, "his storehouses of food, and drink, and strongholds, "were vanquished by the might of the arms of Ashur "my lord, and I placed them in subjection at my feet. "I set Tuba'lu (Ethbaal) upon the throne of sove- "reignty over them, and laid upon him a fixed amount "of tribute which was to be paid yearly to my lordship. "Menahem of Samaria, Tuba'lu of Sidon, Abdili'ti of "Ara'ad, Urumilki of Gebal (Byblos), Mitinti of Ashdod, "Budiulu of Beth-Ammon, Kammusunadab of Moab, "Malikrammu of Edom, [and] all kings of the country "of Martu, brought unto me rich gifts and heavy loads "of their possessions, and they kissed my feet. And as "for Ṣidkâi, the king of Ascalon, who had not bowed "down beneath my yoke, the gods of his father's house, "himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brethren, "and the offspring of his father's house I seized and

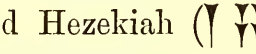
[1]  *Lu-li-i.*

"carried off to Assyria. I appointed to the sovereignty "of the people of Ascalon their former king Sharrulu-"dari, the son of Rukibti, and I received from him the "gift of the tribute of my lordship and he became my "subject. In the course of my expedition I besieged "Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Banaibarḳa, Azuru, which were "towns of Ṣidḳa that had not speedily set themselves at "my feet; I plundered and carried off their spoil. And "the hearts of the nobles, and the high officials, and "the other inhabitants of Amḳarruna, who had bound "in iron chains Padî,[1] who was by right and law and "oath their king, and had with evil intent delivered "him over to Hezekiah, who had shut him up in "prison, were afraid. And the kings of the land of "Egypt gathered together a countless host of bowmen, "and chariots, and horses of the king of Milukhkhi, "and came to help them, and they set their battle in "array before the city of Altaḳû,[2] and put their weapons "in action against me.

"Having confidence in Ashur my lord, I fought "against them, and defeated them. The prince of "the chariots and the sons of the king of Egypt, "and the prince of the chariots of the king of "Milukhkhi I captured with mine own hands alive in "the strife of battle; I besieged Altaḳû and Tamna

[1] *Pa-di-i.*

[2] *Al-ta-ḳu-u* (col. ii. line 76), the Eltekeh of Joshua xix. 44.

"(Timnath), and I took them and spoiled them. I drew
"nigh to Ekron, and I slew the governors and princes
"who had transgressed, and I hung upon poles round
"about the city their dead bodies; the people of the
"city who had done wickedly and had committed
"offences I counted as spoil, but those who had not
"done these things and who were not taken in iniquity
"I pardoned. I brought their king Padî forth from
"Jerusalem and I established him upon the throne of
"dominion over them, and I laid tribute upon him.
"I then besieged Hezekiah (
"Kha-za-ḳi-a-u) of the Jews who had not submitted to
"my yoke and I captured forty-six of his strong cities
"and fortresses, and innumerable small cities which were
"round about them, with the battering of rams and
"the assault of engines, and the attack of foot soldiers,
"and by mines and breaches (made in the walls). I
"brought out therefrom 200,150 people, both small and
"great, and male and female, and horses, and mules,
"and asses, and camels, and oxen, and innumerable
"sheep I counted as spoil. [Hezekiah] himself like a
"caged bird I shut up within Jerusalem his royal
"city. I threw up mounds against him, and I took
"vengeance upon any man who came forth from his
"city. His cities which I had captured I took from
"him and gave to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, and Padî,
"king of Ekron, and Silli-Bêl, king of Gaza, and I
"reduced his land. I added to their former yearly
"tribute, and increased the gifts which they paid unto

"me. The fear of the majesty of my sovereignty over-
"whelmed Hezekiah, and the *urbi* and his trusty
"warriors, whom he had brought into his royal city of
"Jerusalem to protect it, deserted. And he despatched
"after me his messenger to my royal city Nineveh to
"pay tribute and to make submission with thirty
"talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones,
"eye-paint, ... ivory couches and thrones, hides
"and tusks, precious woods, and divers objects, a heavy
"treasure, together with his daughters, and the women
"of his palace, and male and female musicians."

The information given in the above extract is of great importance for the study of Egyptian history of that period, because it is the only contemporaneous evidence concerning it which we possess. Hezekiah appealed, and appealed successfully, to the king of Egypt for assistance, and thus it is clear that the king of Judah had drawn him into a political intrigue, the object of which was to depose Padî, who had been made king of Ekron by Sargon. The king of Egypt brought with him the king of Milukhkhi, and both collected all the bowmen and chariots and horses that they possibly could, but it is difficult to think that they made such extraordinary exertions for the sake of Hezekiah only. It mattered little to Shabataka and Egypt what happened to Jerusalem as long as the Assyrians did not invade Egypt, but he must have seen that Jerusalem once taken, and Hezekiah and his allies beaten, there would be nothing whatsoever to prevent Sennacherib

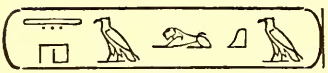
from marching on and entering Egypt. Hezekiah and Shabataka were naturally anxious to get rid of Padî of Ekron, the nominee of Assyria, because his presence must always have reminded them of the power of the Assyrian king in former days.

At the battle of Altaḳû the Egyptians and the other allies of Hezekiah were defeated, and Sennacherib captured the sons of the king of Egypt; it would be interesting to know their names and their fate. The battle over, Sennacherib turned his attention to the siege of Jerusalem, and under the systematic attack with rams, etc., the fall of the city was a foregone conclusion; after a short time Hezekiah surrendered his city, and agreed to all the demands which the Assyrian king made upon him. We must note that the Assyrian annalist tells us that Hezekiah despatched his tribute under the care of his envoy to the city of Nineveh after Sennacherib had departed for that city. Now this is an important statement, for it proves that after the capture of Jerusalem the Assyrian king departed to his own land, where his presence was greatly needed on account of the revolts which were threatened in various parts of the country. Many writers have thought that as soon as Jerusalem had fallen Sennacherib pressed on to invade Egypt, and that it was during the course of the latter part of his third campaign that he suffered the miraculous loss of the greater part of his army. This, however, cannot have been the case, for no king possessing the military

skill which Sennacherib displayed would attempt the conquest of a country like Egypt at the end of what must have been an arduous campaign. The reports of the physical characteristics of the country would convince him that the Delta was not as easily traversed as Palestine, and that it would take him almost as long to march to Thebes from Pelusium as it would to march from Pelusium to Nineveh. Moreover, though he defeated the allies at Altaḳû it is certain that large numbers of the Egyptians saved themselves by flight in chariots and on foot, and that these and their allies from Milukhkha would re-form and would succeed in offering considerable resistance to the advance of an army already tired out by a march which must have lasted some months, and by severe fighting.

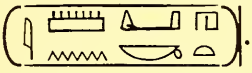
It is instructive to note that Sargon, who was a far more able warrior than Sennacherib, and who was as thoroughly convinced of the complicity of the Egyptian king in the revolt against him as was Sennacherib, did not undertake the conquest of Egypt with an army exhausted by much marching and fighting. There is little doubt that Sargon intended to return and punish Egypt, but he never had the opportunity; Sennacherib likewise intended to punish Egypt, and set out with a large army to carry out his intention, but there is every reason for believing that he did not do so, and he could not have done it during his third campaign. There must have been another invasion of Palestine by the Assyrians under Sennacherib

later in his reign, and another attack upon Jerusalem, which would, of course, be made for the purpose of obtaining money to carry on the war; but there is certainly no proof that Sennacherib made any attempt whatsoever to invade Egypt during the reign of Shabataka. Of the circumstances which attended the death of Shabataka we know nothing, but it is quite possible that after the defeat of his troops at Altaḳû he appealed for assistance to Tirḥâkâh, who was undoubtedly viceroy of Nubia and the Thebaïd at the time, and that he came to the north of Egypt, and finding that Shabataka had lost many men and horses and chariots, he deposed him and, as the tradition already mentioned says, cast him in prison and then killed him.

3.  , or  , Rā-nefer-tem-khu, son of the Sun, Taherq, or Taharqa.

Taherq, or Taharqa, the Tirhâḳâh of the Bible, and the *Τάρκος* of Manetho, was the last king of the XXVth Dynasty, and reigned probably about twenty-five years, although in the King List of Manetho the years of his reign are given as eighteen. His Horus name was Qa-khān,[1] and he also adopted this name

[1] Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. iii. p. 361.

in his capacity of lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet; as the Horus of gold he styled himself "Khu-taui,"  ; he married the princess, the "chief wife, the royal sister, the royal wife, Ámen-ṭāk-het,"  . The name of his mother is, unfortunately, mutilated in the inscriptions, but it is said to have been "Akalouka";[1] she appears to have been connected with some branch of one of the families of the priest-kings, and Tirhâḳâh, no doubt, based his claim to the throne of Egypt on her descent. Whether he was called by Shabataka to help him or not matters little, but it seems that when he was about twenty years of age he was proclaimed king at Napata, and that he at once set out for Egypt to depose Shabataka, leaving behind him his mother, who had, no doubt, brought about her son's rise to power, after the news of the defeat of Shabataka reached Napata. Of the early life of Tirhâḳâh we obtain a few glimpses from the portions of a stele,[2] set up by the king at Tanis, which tell us that he was a younger son, and that he farmed an estate with his father; his father took the live stock as his share, and Tirhâḳâh took the wheat and *dhura*, or millet. He was, however, his father's favourite son, and in due course he succeeded him,

[1] Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, tom. iii. p. 361.

[2] See E. de Rougé in *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, tom. i. p. 21 f.; and Birch, *Monuments of the reign of Tirhakah*, in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vii. p. 194 ff.; Petrie, *Tanis*, vol. ii. p. 29, plate 9, No. 163.

and the god Åmen gave him dominion over all the lands of Egypt, both in the North and in the South. At length Tirhâḳâh determined to be crowned according to the custom of the ancient Egyptian kings, and he made arrangements for the coronation festival to be celebrated both at Thebes and Tanis. He sent to Napata for his mother, that she might come and take part in the ceremonies, and that as the earthly mother of the son of Åmen who had become king of Egypt she might present him to the god whose seed he was. When she had come to Egypt she found that the young man, who at the age of twenty had left her to go forth on the hazardous undertaking of claiming the crown of the two Egypts, had indeed become the lord of the country, and she looked upon him with the same pride which Isis felt as she gazed upon her son Horus, who was born in the papyrus swamps of the Delta. Tirhâḳâh bestowed upon his mother the high honours which befitted the spouse of Åmen and the mother of Åmen's son on earth, and when the coronation ceremonies were over he was declared to be the son of Isis, who had inherited the throne of Seb. It is probable that Tākhet-Åmen, the wife of Tirhâḳâh, who is thought by some to have been the widow of Shabaka, the first king of the XXVth Dynasty, received a number of titles of high rank at the same time.

As far as can be seen Tirhâḳâh ascended the throne some time between B.C. 693 and B.C. 691, and he at once set to work to rule the country after the manner

of the great kings of Egypt. During the first few years of his reign he had little to fear from Sennacherib, for this mighty warrior was busily engaged in reducing the Babylonians, and Elamites, and other nations to the east and north-east of Assyria to subjection, and he had therefore time to devote to development of the trade of the country and to the restoration of her ancient sanctuaries. At Gebel Barkal[1] he built a temple, the sanctuary of which was hewn out of the solid rock of the mountain; the total length of the building was about 120 feet. A porch with four pillars stood before the pylon, which was 63 feet wide and 11 feet deep; the court measured 59 by 50 feet, and contained sixteen columns, eight round and eight square. The height of the columns was 18 feet, and their diameter was $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. A small hypostyle hall with 8 columns led into the sanctuary wherein was the shrine of Åmen-Rā, Mut, Khensu, and other deities, and the chambers on each side were decorated with reliefs, many of them painted in bright colours, in which Tirhâḳâh is seen to be worshipping the gods of the "Holy Mountain," as Gebel Barkal was called in those days. In the temple was a fine, massive granite altar, which has now disappeared. The most remarkable characteristics of the temple are the two colossal statues of the god Bes, which decorate the pillars one on each side of the

[1] Much misconception has existed about the height of this hill; it was measured by Colonel the Hon. A. G. Talbot, R.E., in 1897, and he found it to be 302 feet high, and five-eighths of a mile long.

doorway of the hypostyle hall that leads into the sanctuary. Since the time of Hoskins, from whose work the above measurements are taken, and of Lepsius, a huge mass of rock from the overhanging mountain has crashed down and wrecked the greater part of the most interesting portion of the temple, and it is now impossible to follow out the plans published by either investigator. Tirhâḳâh repaired a temple which existed at the corner of the mountain near his own, and also a temple built further to the north by Piānkhi, the conqueror of Egypt.

Tirhâḳâh's town was across the river, and stood near the modern village of Ṣanam abû-Dôm, as excavations made there in 1897 have proved. Two or three large temples stood in the neighbourhood, and the portions of their columns which were found indicated that those buildings were similar in construction to the temple of Piānkhi at Gebel Barkal. The necropolis of this city appears to have been situated at one period near the Holy Mountain, for the temples there were probably funeral chapels only. The ruins at Gebel Barkal are of great interest, chiefly because they show how thoroughly the civilization of Egypt had been adopted in Nubia, and how completely the priests of Åmen, who had fled to Napata for refuge, had introduced not only their god into the country, but had also succeeded in making the people adopt the art, and sculpture, and religion, and funeral customs in all their essential characteristics. The materials were not so good in

their temples, the work was not so fine, the hieroglyphics were not so well shaped, and the costumes of the figures and the offerings depicted were not so elaborate, but there is no doubt that to all intents and purposes Napata might be regarded as a second Thebes, only poorer. But if Tirhâḳâh cared much for Napata he cared more for Thebes, and the architectural works which he carried on in this city were of an important character. Several portions of the temple of Mut were restored by the priest Menthu-em-ḥāt, presumably under Tirhâḳâh's direction, and the sanctuary was provided with new furniture and libation bowls. In the court in front of the pylon of Rameses I. in the temple of Åmen-Rā at Karnak Tirhâḳâh set up several huge columns, but what he intended to build there in connexion with them is unknown. Near the great temple he built a small temple in honour of Osiris-Ptaḥ, and the reliefs with which it was decorated by him and his successor Ta-nut-Åmen are still in a comparatively good state of preservation; and from the fact that his name is found at many places on the temple buildings on the east bank of the Nile we may assume that his repairs were tolerably numerous. On the west bank he built a second pylon to the small temple at Medînet Habû, and on the bank of it are reliefs in which the king is seen grasping a number of enemies by the hair of their heads and clubbing them.[1]

[1] On the buildings of Tirhâḳâh generally see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 595 ff.

Thus we may see that the only cities in the south which Tirhâḳâh cared greatly about were Napata and Thebes; at Tanis, in the Delta, he set up the stele to which reference has already been made, and he appears to have constructed the building[1] at the north-east corner of the temple enclosure, of which the pavement only now remains, close to the great girdle wall of Pasebkhānut I.

All this architectural work indicates that Egypt was at peace with her neighbours, and that Tirhâḳâh was strong enough to make the people supply him with money for building purposes; it also indicates that the early part of his reign was not only peaceful but prosperous. His relations with the petty kings of Palestine were friendly, because during the first eight or ten years of Tirhâḳâh's reign Sennacherib was occupied in wars against the Babylonians (B.C. 693), and against Elam (692), and against Elam and Babylon (691, 690), and with the siege of Babylon (689). When Babylon capitulated Sennacherib set it on fire, and threw down its walls, and razed its temples to the ground, and to complete its destruction he cut the dams and opened the sluices of the river Euphrates and of the canals, and turned the mighty city into a swamp. For eight years Babylon had no king, and while that city was going to ruin Sennacherib devoted himself to fortifying Nineveh, and building, or re-building, the temple dedicated to Ashur and the great gods of

[1] See Petrie, *Tanis*, vol. i. p. 21; and the plan following plate 16.

Assyria. As soon as Sennacherib returned to Nineveh he heard of a further league made amongst the kings of Palestine, Philistia, and Egypt, and he set out on an expedition against Egypt intending to attack the Khatti on the way.[1] In due course he arrived in Palestine and, for the second time, besieged Jerusalem with a section of his army which was led by the Turtânu ("Tartan") and Rabshaḳú, whilst the rest of his army he took with him and marched against Egypt. The writer of the Book of Kings (2 Kings xvii. 4 ff.) seems to have confused the events connected with the second siege of Jerusalem, i.e., the coming of the army of Tirhâḳâh to fight against Sennacherib, with those that belong to the first; the king of Egypt at the time of the first siege was Shabataka, at the time of the second siege he was Tirhâḳâh. But be this as it may, Sennacherib never invaded Egypt, for he was prevented from doing so by a catastrophe of such a serious character that he found it necessary to return to Nineveh. According to the Books of Kings,[2] and Isaiah[3] the "angel of the Lord went out, and "smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred "fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose "early in the morning, behold, they were all dead "corpses." Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 4, 5) says that Sennacherib besieged Pelusium for a long time and, having raised huge banks against its walls, was about to

[1] See Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 156. [2] 2 Kings xix. 35.
[3] Isaiah xxxvii. 36.

make an attack upon it, when he heard of the coming of Tirhâḳâh with a large force of Ethiopians, and at once left Pelusium and "returned back without success." Berosus (according to Josephus) makes Sennacherib find on his return from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem that God had "sent a pestilential distemper upon his army," and that on the first night of the siege 185,000 generals, and captains, and men of the Assyrian army were destroyed. An Egyptian legend of the catastrophe which befell Sennacherib is preserved by Herodotus (ii. 141), who says that Sennacherib "king of the Arabians and Assyrians," marched upon Egypt in the time of Sethon, a priest of Hephaistos, who was in great terror. A god appeared to Sethon in a vision of the night, and told him that he would assist him, and when the priest awoke he made such preparations to meet the enemy as were possible, without fear. But one night a number of field mice ate up the bows, and quivers, and the leather handles of their shields, and the next morning when the Assyrian hōst was in full flight many of them fell. This story is evidently a romance which was composed to glorify the power of the priests of the god Ptaḥ at Memphis, and is a distorted version of the Hebrew narrative of Sennacherib's defeat. There is little doubt that Herodotus wrote down correctly enough the story which was told him, but its absurdity is evident from the last sentence, in which we are told that a stone statue of the king Sethon, with a mouse

in his hand, stands in the temple of Ptaḥ, and that on it is an inscription to the following effect:—"Whosoever looketh upon me, let him revere the gods."[1] The Egyptians never placed inscriptions of this kind on their statues, and the description of the statue of the king with a mouse in his hand shows that it was not of Egyptian origin but of foreign. The king and priest of Ptaḥ called Sethon has not as yet been satisfactorily identified, though attempts have been made to show that he was the Zêt of Manetho's King List (XXIIIrd Dynasty), or a son of Rameses II., or Tirhâḳâh himself who, to gratify the people of Memphis, chose to perform the functions of high priest of Ptaḥ, and was in consequence celebrated by local tradition "as a 'Sethon' when commemorating a "victory or success gained by him against the "Assyrians" (!)[2] There is no proof that Tirhâḳâh ever assumed the functions of a priest of Ptaḥ; a priest of Ptaḥ may, however, have helped Tirhâḳâh in collecting an army.[3] The Assyrian inscriptions, naturally, contain no mention of the catastrophe described in the Bible, but none of the circumstances attending the attempted invasion of Egypt given by Josephus or Berosus suits the end of Sennacherib's third campaign, when he certainly reduced Jerusalem and made Hezekiah pay heavy tribute. All authorities agree that after its

[1] Ἐς ἐμέ τις ὁρέων, εὐσεβὴς ἔστω.

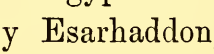
[2] Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, pp. 8–11.

[3] Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 502.

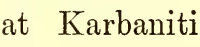
failure Sennacherib returned almost as a fugitive to his own land, where a short time after he was murdered by his two sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer, as he was worshipping in the house of Misroch his god, on the 20th day of the month Ṭêbhêth in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, B.C. 681.

The withdrawal of Sennacherib to his own country must have been regarded by Tirhâḳâh with unfeigned joy, for he knew that in all probability he would remain unmolested by Esarhaddon, the new Assyrian king, for a few years at least. The annals and chronicles prove that Esarhaddon was crowned B.C. 680 at Nineveh, and that he spent the first years of his reign in quelling revolts in Babylonia, and in re-building the city of Babylon. In B.C. 676 he marched against Abdi-Milkutti of Sidon and his allies, and destroyed his city; he built a new city on the site and peopled it with foreigners. Abdi-Milkutti and his ally Sanduarri, king of Kundi and Sisû, were taken prisoners in the following year, and their heads were cut off and sent to Nineveh. But though Esarhaddon was so near Egypt in this campaign he did not advance to Egypt. In B.C. 670 he besieged Baal, king of Tyre, and cut off his water supply in the same manner that the rebels cut off the water supply of Abi-Milki, king of Tyre, in the reign of Amen-ḥetep IV. He marched from Aphek to Raphia in fifteen days, and by the end of the summer of the same year he had fought four battles against the Egyptians and their allies, and was master of Memphis,

which was plundered by the Assyrians in their characteristic manner. Tirhâḳâh escaped, and fled to Thebes or to Napata. Esarhaddon received the submission of all the princes of the country, and appointed twenty governors to rule, each from his own city, the various provinces of his new empire. He then returned to Assyria, where he stayed for one year; he set out on a third expedition against Egypt B.C. 668, but he died on the way.

As soon as Tirhâḳâh knew that Esarhaddon was dead he returned to Egypt, and having driven from their places the governors of cities appointed by Esarhaddon, he advanced to Memphis, where he boldly declared himself to be the king of Egypt, and celebrated with great and solemn ceremonies the deposit of an Apis Bull in the Serapeum at Ṣaḳḳâra in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. News of this event seems to have been quickly reported to Ashur-banipal, who had succeeded Esarhaddon on the throne of Assyria, and in the great baked clay cylinder inscribed with his annals[1] he records the following facts:—He was walking about in Nineveh when a messenger came and reported that Tirhâḳâh ( , Tar-ḳu-u), who was formerly king of Egypt and Kush, and who had been overthrown by Esarhaddon, had

[1] See Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. v plates 1-10; and for translations see G. Smith, *Assurbanipal*, 1871; and Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Berlin, 1889 p. 153 ff.

despised the power of Ashur and Ishtar and, trusting in his own might, had deposed the governors whom Esarhaddon had appointed, and had slain the people and plundered the country, and taken up his abode in Memphis. Ashur-bani-pal was furious at the news, and at once set out for Egypt; he passed quickly through Syria, and received the submission of the twenty-two kings of the sea-coast on the way, and soon arrived at Karbaniti ()[1] Tirhâḳâh prepared to fight, but his troops were beaten, and when he heard this in Memphis he took to flight, and made his way to Thebes. Ashur-bani-pal found that the governors whom his father had appointed had fled, but he recalled them and re-appointed them; their names and cities were these :—1. Ni-ku-u (Nekau), king of Mi-im-pi (Memphis) and Sa-ai (Sais). 2. Sharru-lu-da-ri, king of Ṣi'nu (Tanis?). 3. Pi-sha-an-ḥu-ru (Pa-sen-Ḥeru, or Pa-shere-en-Ḥeru), king of Na-at-ḥu-u (the Papyrus Swamps). 4. Pa-ak-ru-ru (Paḳrer), king of Pi-shab-tu (Pa-Sept). 5. Bu-uk-ku-na-an-ni-'-pi (Bakennifi), king of Ḥa-at-ḥi-ri-bi (Ḥetta-ḥer-âbt, Athribis). 6. Na-aḥ-ki-e (Nekht-kai), king of Ḥi-ni-in-shi (Ḥenen-suten, or Herakleopolis Magna). 7. Pu-ṭu-bis-ti (Peṭa-Bast), king of Ṣa-'nu (Tanis). 8. U-na-mu-nu (Unu-Âmen), king of Na-at-ḥu-u (the Papyrus Swamps). 9. Ḥar-si-ya-e-shu (Ḥeru-sa-Âst), king of Ṣab-nu-u-ti (Theb-neter, or Sebennytus). 10. Bu-u-

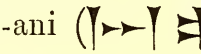
[1] Probably the Egyptian city QARBANA,  .

ai-ma (Pamâi), king of Bi-in-di-di (Pa Ba-neb-Ṭeṭ, or Mendes). 11. Su-si-in-ku (Shashanq), king of Bu-shi-ru (Busiris). 12. Tab-na-aḥ-ti (Tafnekht), king of Bu-nu-bu (Pa-nub). 13. Bu-uk-ku-na-an-ni-'-pi (Bak-en-nifi), king of Aḥ-ni (Henit?). 14. Ip-ti-ḥar-di-e-shu (Ptaḥ-erṭā-su), king of Pi-ḥa-at-ti-ḥu-ru-un-pi-ki (Pa Ḥet-ḥert nebt Ṭep-âḥet, or Aphroditopolis). 15. Na-aḥ-ti-ḥu-ru an-si-ni (Nekht-Ḥeru-nashennu), king of Pi-shab-ti-'-a (Pa-Septṭ). 16. Bu-kur-[1] ni-ni-ip (Bak-en-renf), king of Pa-aḥ-nu-ti (Pa-khent?). 17. Ṣi-ḥa-â (Tcheṭ-ḥrâ), king of Shi-ya-a-u-tu (Siuṭ). 18. La-mi-in-tu (Nemareth), king of Ḥi-mu-ni (Khemennu, or Hermopolis). 19. Ish-pi-ma-a-ṭu (Pesa-Mut), king of Ta-ai-ni (Teni, or Thinis). 20. Ma-an-ti-mi-an-ḥi-e (Menthu-em-ānkh), king of Ni-' (Nut, i.e., Thebes).[2] A list of the governors and their cities with their names in cuneiform and their Egyptian originals will be found at the end of the section on Tirhâḳâh.

When Ashur-bani-pal had re-appointed the twenty governors he departed to Assyria with great spoil. As soon, however, as he had left the country these same governors conspired together, and sent letters to Tirhâḳâh proposing an alliance between them, and a

[1] Bukur-Ninip cannot be an Assyrian name, as some have suggested, because no Assyrian called himself the "first-born" of Ninip. We must remember too that the correctness of the reading of "Ninip" as the name of a god is not yet proved.

[2] On the identifications of these names of governors and cities see Smith, *Assurbanipal*, p. 48 ff.; *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1872, p. 29 ff.; and 1883, pp. 85–88; the most recent discussion of the subject is by Steindorff in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 595 ff.

course of action which would entail the destruction of the Assyrian army in Egypt, but the Assyrian chiefs managed to intercept their despatches, and the conspiracy was discovered. The ringleaders of the revolt were Sharru-ludari, the king of Tanis; Paḳrer, king of Pa-Septˇ (the modern Ṣafṭ al-Ḥenna); and Nikau of Saïs; the revolt was put down with a strong hand by a second army which Ashur-bani-pal despatched to Egypt, and whilst large numbers of rebels were slain, two of the above-mentioned kings, Nekau and Sharru-ludari, were sent alive to Nineveh, and the latter seems to have been put to death there. Nekau, however, was pardoned by Ashur-bani-pal, who sent him back with rich gifts to his city in Egypt, and appointed his son to be the governor of Athribis. An Assyrian name, Nabû-shezib-ani (), was given to Nekau's son, and many presents at the same time. About this time, so the Assyrian annalist tells us, "Tirhâḳâh fled to Kush; the terror of the soldiers of Ashur my lord overwhelmed him, and he went to his dark doom."

From the inscriptions found upon certain reliefs at Medînet-Habû ("Pylon of the Ethiopians") we learn that Tirhâḳâh claimed to have conquered Egypt, Ṭesher, and Tepa,[1] and from a list of conquered countries given on the base of a statue discovered by Mariette at Karnak, it is clear that he claimed sovereignty over Western Mesopotamia, the land of the

[1] G. Daressy, *Médinet Habou*, p. 9.

Kheta, Assyria, Libya, and the eastern deserts. This is a signal example of the worthlessness, historically, of such lists, and proves that cartouches containing the names of countries and peoples were added to statues, etc., purely for ornamental purposes, and without any regard to truth or probability; the list here referred to has been shown by Mariette to have been copied directly from the base of a colossal statue of Rameses II.[1] Curiously enough, Tirhâḳâh obtained the reputation of being a great traveller and conqueror, and Strabo,[2] under the name of "Tearko the Ethiopian," mentions him with Madys the Scythian, Cobus of Trerus, and Sesostris and Psammetichus the Egyptians, as one whose expeditions were not generally known. In another place[3] he quotes Megasthenes,[4] who says that Sesostris the Egyptian and Tearko the Ethiopian advanced as far as Europe, and that Nebuchadnezzar, who was more celebrated among the Chaldeans than Hercules among the Greeks, penetrated even as far as the Pillars, which Tearko also reached. But whatever Pillars are here referred to they cannot be the Pillars of Hercules in Europe, for neither Nebuchadnezzar nor Tirhâḳâh ever reached them. The circumstances which attended the death of Tirhâḳâh, as well as the time and place of it, are unknown.

[1] See also Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 594; Mariette, *Karnak*, p. 67, pl. 18.

[2] I. 3, 21.

[3] XV. 1, 6.

[4] He flourished between B.C. 350 and B.C. 300.

4. 

Rā-ba-ka, son of the Sun, lord of risings, Àmen-Tanuath.

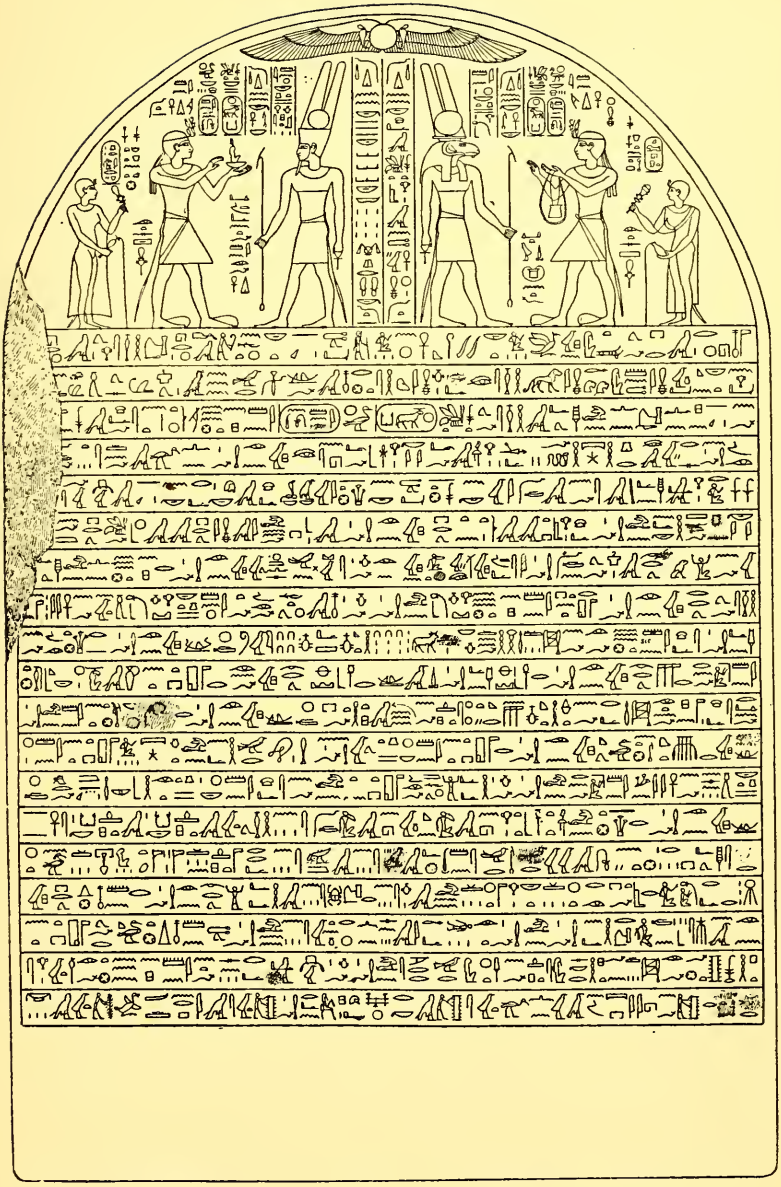
During the last years of his life Tirhâḳâh associated with himself in the rule of the kingdom a fellow-countryman who was called Tanuath-Àmen, or Tanut-Àmen; this fact is proved by the reliefs[1] on the walls of the small sanctuary which Tirhâḳâh and Tanut-Àmen built in honour of Osiris-Ptaḥ at Thebes. In the first of these we see Tirhâḳâh in converse with the various deities of Egypt, and in those which follow the youthful king Tanut-Àmen is represented in converse with Àmen-Rā and other gods. He sometimes wears the White Crown,  , and sometimes the Red Crown, and at others the uraei of the South and the North are fastened over his brow. In one relief[2] we see both Tirhâḳâh and Tanut-Àmen making offerings, the former of incense and the latter of a libation to Osiris. A curious inscription found at Thebes and published by Champollion[3] mentions a ceremony which was performed in the third year of the reign of Tanut-Àmen, in connexion with the entrance of a priest called Peṭā-Khensu into the temple of Àmen-Rā at Thebes; this priest enumerates the names of a



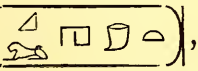
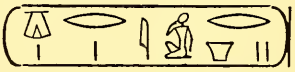
Uaḥ-mert, the Horus name of Tanut-Àmen.

[1] See Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 79 ff.

[2] Mariette, *op. cit.*, pl. 87. *Monuments*, tom. iv. plate 349.

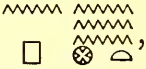
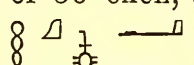


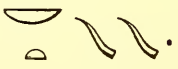
Stele of Tanuath-Âmen. Found at Napata (Gebel Barkal).

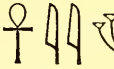
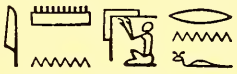
number of priests of Åmen, Mut, Khensu, and Menthu, arranged in genealogical order, and it commemorates his priestly ancestors for seventeen generations. The most important monument of the reign of Tanut-Åmen is a fine stele which was found among the ruins of the temple of Åmen-Rā at Gebel Barkal, or Napata, and which is now preserved in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo.[1] On the upper, rounded portion of it are two scenes. In one we have the king, who appears to be quite young, making an offering of a necklace and pectoral to his father Åmen, who is here represented with the head of a ram surmounted by a disk and plumes. Behind him stands his sister Qelhetat  , who is pouring out a libation and shaking a sistrum. The god says to the king, "I give "unto thee to rise as king of the South and North "upon the throne of Horus the living one, like Rā, for "ever." In the other scene the king is making an offering of Maāt,  , to Åmen-Rā, who says to the king, "I give unto thee all lands, all desert and "mountainous countries, and all the Nine Bows "together beneath thy sandals for ever." Behind the king stands his wife Ḳereårḥenti,  ; the two ladies have their feet bare, but the king wears sandals, or shoes of an unusual shape.

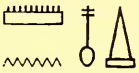
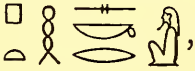
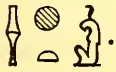
The stele is dated in the king's accession year, and

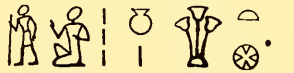
[1] For the text see Mariette, *op. cit.*, pll. 7 and 8.

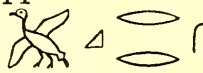
among the titles which it applies to the king is "Neb ābui,"[1] i.e., "lord of the two horns," a title which in later days was also borne by Alexander the Great, and which is, no doubt, the original of the Arabic name "Dhu'l Ḳarnên" for the conqueror. In the second line mention is made of a journey which he made to the "Great Green," i.e., the Mediterranean Sea, and it seems as if he had been there with Tirhâḳâh in the early part of that king's reign. The text proper relates that Tanut-Ámen had a dream one night wherein he saw two snakes, the one on his right hand, and the other on his left, and that when he awoke they had disappeared. When he asked [his magicians] to interpret the dream they told him that the two serpents represented the lands of the South and North of which he was to become the king, and that he should bind the uraei of sovereignty of both countries on his brow. As a result of this he went forth and was proclaimed king by 1,100,000 men,  , and then he departed to the temple of Ámen of Napata,  , and made an offering of 36 oxen, and forty measures of a beer called *āsh*,  , and 100 ostrich feathers,  . This done, he set out for the North, and when he arrived at Ābu (Elephantine) he made offerings to Khnemu-Rā and Ḥāpi; at Thebes he was received

1  .

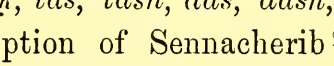
by the Senṭ-ur priest,  , and by his colleagues who brought to him *ānkhi* flowers,  , of "him whose name is hidden,"  .

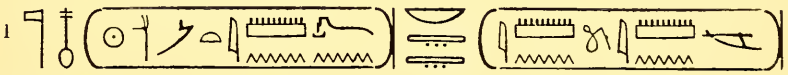
In due course he reached Men Nefer,  , i.e., Memphis, and certain of the inhabitants who had intended to fight against him changed their minds and greeted his arrival with joy; but others of them resisted him, and "the children of revolt did battle with his majesty, "who made a slaughter among them so great that it "could not be computed." When Tanut-Ámen had taken the city he went to the temple of Ptaḥ and made offerings to Ptaḥ-Seker,  , and Sekhet,  . The "children of revolt" here mentioned must be the governors of the cities who had been re-appointed by Ashur-bani-pal, and probably a number of soldiers and mercenaries whom he had left to protect the interests of Assyria in Egypt. As soon as Tanut-Ámen had propitiated Ptaḥ of Memphis, he set out again in his boats to do battle with the "governors of the North,"[1] who straightway withdrew into their garrison cities, and became unassailable. Having spent "many days" waiting for them to come out to fight, he at length returned to Memphis, and sat down in his palace and took counsel with himself as to the best

[1]  .

means to adopt to enable his bowmen to make an attack. After some delay the governors of the eastern side of the Delta appeared at Memphis under the leadership of Paqrer,  , the governor of Pa-Sept,  , or Phacusa, and they came to some sort of agreement with him. Tanut-Àmen entertained the chiefs of the deputation and gave them bread, and beer, and "all good things," and when, after a few days, they had come to terms, they asked permission to depart to their towns that they might fetch the gifts which they had evidently agreed to give him. At length the gifts were given, and in return, we may assume, the king found it prudent to retire to his own country.

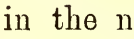
The above inscription clearly contains a description of the occupation of Egypt by the Nubian king, and of his victory over those who resisted him at Memphis and in the Delta, and there is no doubt that the conquest of Memphis which is mentioned by Tanut-Àmen is also referred to in the Annals of Ashur-bani-pal (col. ii. l. 21 ff). The Assyrian king, after stating that Tirhâḳâh had been swept away by the terrible splendour of his majesty, goes on to say that immediately afterwards a man called  set himself upon the throne of Egypt and continued the war. Now this name was read by the late Mr. G. Smith as Ur-da-ma-ni-e, and was at once by many regarded as the Assyrian form of the name of the

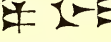
Egyptian king called RUṬ-ÂMEN-meri-Âmen,[1] whose place in Egyptian history is, however, uncertain. But it was well known from the Egyptian monuments that the successor of Tirhâḳâh was called Tanut-Âmen, and it seemed impossible that the Assyrian name Urdamanie could represent the Egyptian Tanut-Âmen. The question at once arose as to the accuracy of the transliteration of the Assyrian characters, and attention was fixed upon the first sign  , which Mr. G. Smith, and others following him, read *ur*; now this sign has many values, e.g., *lik*, *liḳ*, *tas*, *tash*, *das*, *dash*, *tish*, *tiz*, and *tiṣ*. In an inscription of Sennacherib[2] Mr. Smith found the words  , which he read "ul-tu ṣi-tan," and translated "from the beginning," and thus gave to the sign the additional value *tan*. This value does not appear in the second edition of Prof. Delitzsch's *Lesestücke*, which was published in 1878, so clearly he cannot have known of its existence; it appears (p. 35) in parenthesis, in the third edition, published in 1885, and in the fourth edition (p. 38), published in 1899. This value *tan* is given by Brünnow in his admirable *Classified List* on the authority of Delitzsch, and the interesting variant

[1] 

RĀ-USR-MA[Ā]T-ÂMEN-SETEP-EN, lord of the two lands, ÂMEN-RUṬ-MERI-ÂMEN.

[2] Smith-Sayce, *History of Sennacherib*, London, 1878, p. 161.

ta-an is given in the *Wörterbuch* of this scholar, p. 239. We may then take it for granted that the sign  has the value *tan*, and if we apply this to the first sign in the name  we obtain the reading Tan-da-ma-ni-e, which represents with tolerable accuracy the name of Tirhâḳâh's successor, the Tanut-Ámen [1] of the Egyptian inscriptions. We must, then, cease to regard Urdamanie, or rather Tandamanie, and Ruṭ-Ámen as one and the same person, and we may now consider Ashur-bani-pal's account of his war against Tandamanie.

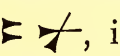
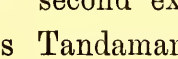
According to the Assyrian texts Tandamanie was either the "son of Shabakû,"  , or the "son of his sister,"  ,[2] but if the latter reading [3] be the correct one he must have been the nephew of Tirhâḳâh, for this king is clearly the person to whom *shu* refers. Those who have made Tandamanie the nephew of Shabaka [4] appear not to have realized that the words "son of his sister" in the one text take the place of the words "son of Shabakû" in the other; as in the former text Tirhâḳâh is the last person mentioned, the words "son of his sister" must mean the son of Tirhâḳâh's sister.

[1] Steindorff in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 356 ff.

[2] appears to mean "sister" here, but its usual meaning is "lady."

[3] See Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 160.

[4] See the texts in Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. v. plate 2, line 22.

But to return to our text. As soon as Tirhâḳâh had gone to his "dark doom" Tandamanie seated himself upon the throne of Egypt, and fortified the city of Ni', and according to one text, the city of U-nu,  , i.e., Annu,  , or Heliopolis, and collected his troops, and then set out to besiege the Assyrian forces in Memphis; the siege was well maintained, and he succeeded in preventing anyone from leaving the city. Whilst he was carrying out these works a messenger sent by someone departed in hot haste to Nineveh and told Ashur-bani-pal what had happened, and straightway the Assyrian king set out on his "second expedition to Egypt and Kush." As soon as Tandamanie heard that Ashur-bani-pal had arrived in Egypt he left Memphis and fled to Thebes, and immediately he had gone the prefects and governors who, not knowing whether they would obtain help from Assyria, had given him gifts, and had tried to be on good terms with him, advanced to Ashur-bani-pal and tendered their submission and kissed his feet. The Assyrian host left Memphis and followed Tandamanie, or Tanut-Amen, to Thebes, and as soon as the fugitive king knew this he fled to the city of Ḳipḳip,  , Ḳi-ip ḳi-pi;[1] thus Thebes fell into the hands of Ashur-bani-pal, who

[1] The Egyptian  Qepqepa; see Steindorff, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i. p. 611.

plundered it in the usual Assyrian fashion, and carried off from it gold, silver, precious stones, rich apparel, costly furniture, fine horses, men, women, children, and two large wooden pillars which were of great weight, and were covered with plates of gold.

Ashur-bani-pal seems to have been content with the sacking of Thebes, for he returned, as he says, "with a full hand" in peace to his capital Nineveh, having established his power and authority in Egypt and Kush. These events took place about B.C. 661, and the capture and sacking of Thebes were the greatest calamity which had ever befallen the city. The Nubians had nearly a century before occupied it under Piānkhi, but their occupation took place in a peaceful manner, and seeing what close relations had existed between the Thebans and Nubians for centuries, the latter would not be regarded by the former as strangers or foreigners. But never before had the city of Thebes seen a foreign host in her streets, and fierce soldiers going about in the courts of the temple of Åmen, desecrating the famous sanctuary and pillaging the chambers where the symbols of the great gods of Egypt had their abode. The provocation which the Egyptians, led by the Nubian kings Tirhâḳâh and Tanut-Åmen, had given must have been of a most serious character, otherwise Ashur-bani-pal would never have undertaken such a laborious work as an expedition to Thebes. He and his father must have been fully aware that it was impossible for them to make their authority

effective in a strip of country like Egypt, the capital of which was seventy days' journey from the sea-coast, and it is probable that the object of their invasion was rather to maintain their authority in Syria and Palestine than to conquer Egypt. Sargon, mighty warrior that he was, clearly shirked the invasion of a country which seemed to have no end, and his son Sennacherib lost the greater part of a fine army before ever setting foot on Egyptian soil, and Esarhaddon, the wise and politic grandson of Sargon, was content with the occupation of the Delta and the capture of the northern capital Memphis. It was reserved for the fiery Ashur-bani-pal to take and sack Thebes, but we may be quite sure that he knew it would be impossible to rule Egypt from Nineveh, and that he felt that it would be impossible for him ever to return to the country, especially when he remembered the trouble which was brewing for him in Babylonia and Elam.

The invasion of Egypt and the sack of Thebes were the result of the arrogance and ignorance of the priests of Åmen. Having ruined Egypt and reduced Thebes to poverty, in the XXIst Dynasty they retired to Napata, and became propagandists of the cult of Åmen and of the theory that the high priest of that god had the right to rule Egypt; the native Nubian princes married women of the families of the priests of Åmen, and adopted with their wives the belief that they inherited that right. The

four kings of the Nubian Dynasty occupied Thebes without much difficulty, but they showed themselves incapable of meeting a strong foe like the Assyrians in the battle-field. They might have ruled the Thebaïd and Nubia in peace had they not attempted to resist the power of Assyria in Syria and Palestine, but they foolishly thought that they might with impunity depose the governors appointed by Esarhaddon, and slay the Assyrian garrison left in Memphis by Ashur-bani-pal, not realizing the greatness of the power of the foe whom they opposed. When the Assyrians turned upon their enemy the Nubians were always beaten, and when the Assyrians followed them they ran away. Sib'e the "Tartan" of Egypt ran away from Sargon, Tirhâḳâh ran away from Esarhaddon and from Ashur-bani-pal, and Tanut-Åmen ran away from Ashur-bani-pal. Tanut-Åmen did more harm to Egypt than his three predecessors, for he defied the Assyrian king, slew his soldiers, and then escaped himself, leaving the wretched country at the mercy of the victorious and infuriated king of the Assyrians, whose annals show beyond a doubt that they were past masters in the art of burning and destroying the cities which they had sacked, and of laying waste countries, and of torturing and slaying their captives.

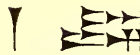
The action of the Nubian kings seems to have been due to the foolish belief, which was inculcated in them by the priests of Åmen, that they ought to follow the example of the priest-kings of the Theban XXIst Dynasty

of Egypt, and copy the exploits of the great kings of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, but they possessed neither the ability of the priests, nor the bravery of the kings of old. For nearly two thousand years the city of Thebes maintained its proud position, not only as the capital of Upper Egypt, but as the seat of the government of the country and of the priesthood, and whether the Egyptians gained victories or suffered defeats in the wars which they waged during that long period, the "city of Åmen" maintained its supremacy among the cities of Egypt, and the foot of the Asiatic conqueror never trod her streets. It was reserved for the Nubian converts of the priests of Åmen to bring upon her a destruction which her inhabitants could not have believed possible, and a state of ruin so awful that it was held up by the prophet Nahum as an example of the misfortune and calamity which he prophesied against the people of Nineveh.

LIST OF GOVERNORS OF CITIES

ASSYRIAN FORMS OF THEIR NAMES.

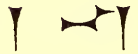
1.  Ni-ku-u =

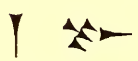
2.  Shărru-lu-da-ri

3.  Pi-sha-an-khu-ru =

4.  Pa-ak-ru-ru =

5.  =
Bu-uk-ku-na-an-ni-'-pi

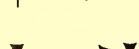
6.  Na-akh-ki-e =

7.  Pu-ṭu-bish-ti =

8.  U-na-mu-nu =

9.  Khar-si-ya-e-shu =

10. Pu-u-ai-ma =

11.  Su-si-in-ḳu =

12. Tab-na-akh-ti =

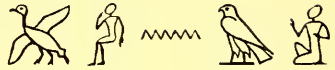
[1] According to Steindorff (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. i.

APPOINTED BY ESARHADDON.

EGYPTIAN ORIGINALS OF THE ASSYRIAN FORMS.

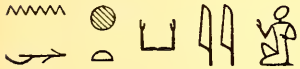
 NEKAU.

(An Assyrian name.)

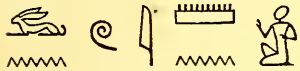
 PA-SEN-ḤERU, or 
PA-SHERE-EN-ḤERU.

 PAḲRER, or  PAQRER.

 BAK-EN-NIFI.

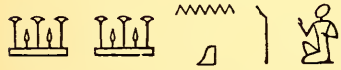
 NEKHT-KA-I.

 PE-ṬĀ-BAST.

 UNU-ÀMEN.

 ḤERU-SA-ÀST.

 PA-MÀ-I.[1]

 SHASHANQ.

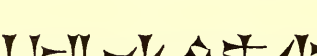
 TAF-NEKHT.

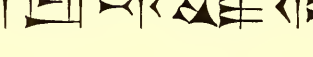
p. 351) the Assyrian form = Eg.  .

LIST OF GOVERNORS OF CITIES

ASSYRIAN FORMS OF THEIR NAMES.

13.  =

14.  Ip-ti-khar-di-e-shu =

15.  =
Na-akh-ti-khu-ru-an-si-ni

16.  Bu-kur-ni-ni-ip[1] =

17. Tsi-kha-a =

18.  La-me-in-tu =

19.  Ish-pi-ma-a-ṭu =

20.  =
Ma-an-ti-me-an-khi-e

[1] This name cannot be the Assyrian "Bukur-Ninib," i.e., "firstborn of Ninib," for the god's name is never spelt in this way, and the determinative  is wanting.

[2] Because no official or king called Menthu-em-ānkh is known to us from the Egyptian inscriptions of this period, while a governor of Thebes called Menthu-em-ḥā,  , is known, an attempt has been made to show that the governor whom the Assyrian scribe called Ma-an-ti-mi-an-hi-e must be identified with this Menthu-em-ḥā. In order to arrive at this result the second sign *an*, , is arbitrarily regarded as a mistake of the scribe, who is supposed by this theory to

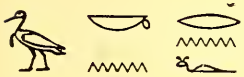
APPOINTED BY ESARHADDON—*continued.*

EGYPTIAN ORIGINALS OF THE ASSYRIAN FORMS.

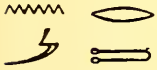
(As No. 5.)


PTAḤ-ERṬĀ-SU.


NEKHT-ḤERU-NA-SHENNU.


BAK-EN-REN-F.


TCHEṬ-ḤRÀ (= Tcheḥo = *Τεώς*).


NEMARETH.


P-SA-MUT.

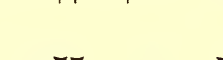

MENTHU-EM-ĀNKH.[2]

have mistaken the following sign *ḫi*,  , for the ideogram of the name of the god Ashur,  , and therefore to have placed before it the determinative for god, . The idea is ingenious but most improbable, and the argument, as is generally the case in emendations of this kind, is so complicated that it fails to carry conviction with it. As the name stands before us in the cuneiform characters we have neither reason nor right to assume any such blunder on the part of the scribe, or to read the name in any other way than Ma-an-ti-mi-an-khi-e, which is obviously Menthu-em-ānkh, and must be the name of a person entirely distinct from Menthu-em-ḥā. See Maspero, *Hist. Anc.*, vol. iii. p. 378; Steindorff, *Beiträge*, vol. i. p. 354.

LIST OF CITIES OVER WHICH GOVERNORS

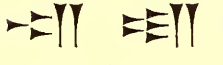
ASSYRIAN FORMS OF THEIR NAMES.

1.  Me-im-pi =

 Sa-ai =

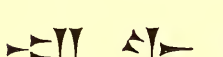
2.  Tsi-'-nu =

3. Na-at-khu-u =

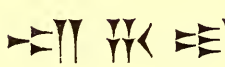
4.  Pi-sap-tu =

5.  Kha-at-khi-ri-bi =

6.  Khi-ni-in-shi =

7.  Tsa-'-nu =

8.  Na-at-khu-u =

9.  Tsab-nu-u-ti =

10.  Pi-in-di-di =

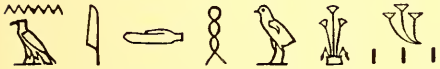
WERE APPOINTED BY ESARHADDON.

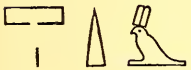
EGYPTIAN ORIGINALS OF THE ASSYRIAN FORMS.

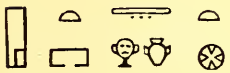
 MEN-NEFER.

 SAAUT.

 TCHĀNT.

 NA-ÀṬḤU, "the Swamps."

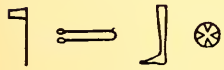
 PER-SEPṬ (PA-SEPṬ).

 ḤET-TA-ḤER-ÀBT (ATHRIBIS).

 ḤENEN-SUTEN (HERAKLEOPOLIS MAGNA).

 TCHĀNT (?).

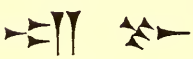
 NA-ÀṬḤU.

 THEB-NETER (SEBENNYTUS).

 PA-BA-NEB-ṬEṬET (MENDES).

LIST OF CITIES OVER WHICH GOVERNORS

ASSYRIAN FORMS OF THEIR NAMES.

11.  Pu-nu-shi-ru =

12. Pu-nu-bu =

13.  Akh-ni =

14. =
Pi-kha-at-ti-khu-ru-un-pi-ki

15.  Pi-sab-di-'-a =

16. Pa-akh-nu-ti =

17.  Shi-ya-a-u-tu =

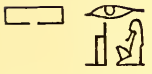
18. Khi-mu-ni =

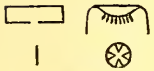
19. Ta-ai-ni =

20.  Ni-' =

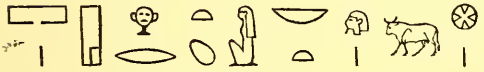
WERE APPOINTED BY ESARHADDON—*continued.*

EGYPTIAN ORIGINALS OF THE ASSYRIAN FORMS

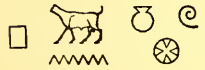
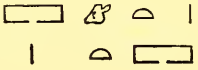

PA-ÁSÀR (BUSIRIS).


PA-NUB (MOMEMPHIS ?).

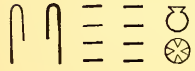

ḤENIT (?).

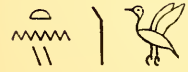

PA-ḤET-ḤERT-NEBT-ṬEP-ÀḤET (APHRODITOPOLIS).


PA-SEPṬ-ĀA (ṢAFṬ AL-ḤENNA).


PA-KHENNU, or 
PA-KHENT.


SAUT.


KHEMENNU (HERMOPOLIS).


TENI (THINIS).


NUT-[ÁMEN], i.e., "CITY [OF ÁMEN]" (THEBES).

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TWENTY-SECOND TO THE TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY.—SUMMARY.

With the close of this period the New Empire comes to an end, and we are on the threshold of the Renaissance of the Egyptian kingdom with all its ancient arts and sciences brought into connexion with the Greece of the seventh century before Christ. The beginning of this period is marked by a slight revival of Egyptian power under the energetic king Shashanq, who put an end to the two rival but weak dynasties of Tanis and Thebes, and united the kingdoms of the South and North under his sceptre. With the end of the dynasty of priest-kings Thebes ceased to be the capital of Egypt, and its glory, which had lasted for two thousand years, departed from it. The progress of its decay was materially hastened by its sack in the year 661 B.C., by the Assyrians in the reign of Ashur-bani-pal, and by the time of the rule of the Ptolemies the great city was, comparatively speaking, in ruins. Shashanq, the first king of the XXIInd Dynasty, fixed

the seat of his power at Bubastis, in the eastern part of the Delta, a city which had up to that time occupied a purely subordinate position.

The successors of Shashanq vied with each other in their devotion to the Cat or Lioness-goddess Bast, and they considerably enlarged and beautified her temple at Bubastis, the greatest of the works in connexion therewith being executed by Osorkon II., the fourth king of the dynasty, who erected a magnificent festival hall in honour of the goddess.[1] Of this city Herodotus says,[2]—"Amongst the rest, the noble city "of Bubastis seemeth to be uery haughty and highly "planted, in which city is a temple of excellent memory "dedicate to the goddess Bubastis, called in our speach "Diana, then the which, albeit there be other churches "both bigger and more richly furnished, yet for the "sightly grace and seemelynesse of building, there is "none comparable unto it. Besides, the uery entrance "and way that leadeth unto the city, the rest is in forme "of an Ilande, inclosed round about with two sundry "streames of the river Nilus, which runne to either side "of the path way, and leauing as it were a lane or "causey betweene them, without meeting, take their "course another way. These armes of the floud are "eache of them an hundred foote broade, beset on both "sides the banckes with fayre braunched trees, over-"shadowing ye waters with a coole and pleasant shade.

[1] See Naville, *Festival Hall of Osorkon II.*, London, 1892.

[2] ii. 137, 138. B.R.'s translation, Fol. 108 f.

"The gate of entry of the city is in height 10. paces, "hauing in the front a beautiful image, 6. cubites in "measure. The temple it selfe situate in the middest "of ye city, is euermore in sight to those yt passe to and "fro. For although ye city by addition of earth was "arrered and made higher, yet ye temple standing as it "did in ye beginning, and never mooued, is in manner "of a lofty and stately tower, in open and cleare uiewe "to euery parte of ye city. Round about the which "goeth a wall ingrauen with figures and portraitures of "sundry beasts.

"The inner temple is enuironed with a high groue "of trees, set and planted by the hande and industrie "of men; in the whiche temple is standing an "image. The length of the temple is in euery way a "furlong. From the entrance of the temple Eastward, "there is a fayre large causey leading to the house of "Mercury, in length, three furlongs, and four acres "broade, all of faire stone, and hemmed in on each "side with a course of goodly tall trees planted by the "hands of men, and thus as touching the description "of ye temple." Describing the various great festivals of the Egyptians, Herodotus says[1] of the feast of Diana which was celebrated at Bubastis,—"Moreover, such of "this people as with entyre and affectionate zeale most "religiously obserue the feast at Bubastis, behaue and "beare themselues on this maner. Certayne shippes "being addressed, wherein infinite numbers of men and

[1] B.R.'s translation, Fol. 86.

"women sayle towards the city, in the meane season "whiles they be in voiage on ye water, certaine of the "women play upon drums and tabers, making a great "sound and noyse, ye men on pipes. Such as want "these implements, clap their hands and straine their "voice in singing to ye highest degree. At what city "soever they arrive, happely some of the women con- "tinue their mirthe and disport on ye timbrels, some "others raile, reuile and scold at the dames of ye city "beyond measure; many trauise and daunce minionly: "others cast by their clothes, and openly discouer and "bewray their shame, doing this in all those cities that "are neere adioyning to the rivers side. Being as- "sembled and gathered together at Bubastis, they "honour the feast day with principall solemnity, making "large offerings to Diana, wherein is greater expence "and effusion of grape wine than all the yeare besides. "To this place by the uoice of ye country are wont to "repayre 7000. men and women, besides children, and "thus they passe the time at Bubastis."

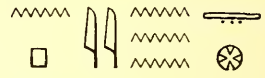
The temple of Bast is at least as old as the time of Khufu, for this king's Horus name was found on a granite block which evidently formed part of the original building; the names of Pepi I., as well as the names of several kings of the Middle Empire, were also found on slabs of stone; thus it is certain that in the early ages of Egyptian history the temple of Bubastis was of great importance. But under the New Empire we hear little of it until the period of the XXIInd Dynasty, when Bast

suddenly becomes one of the most important deities of Egypt. Åmen-Rā was still worshipped as king of the gods throughout Egypt, but after the XXIInd Dynasty the ruin and decay into which his sanctuary and city had fallen greatly diminished his prestige, and men began to turn more and more to the worship of the universally venerated deity Osiris, his consort Isis, and the other gods of his train. In this company the goddesses Sekhet, Bast, Hathor, etc., took their places, and became first confused with Isis and then identified with her.

The first four kings of the XXIInd Dynasty were energetic monarchs, but they were incapable of restoring to Egypt any of her former territories in Palestine. The attack of Shashanq I. on the kingdom of Judah can only be regarded as a raid which produced no lasting results, and it was not followed up in any way by his successors. Under the later kings of this dynasty, and those of the Tanite XXIIIrd Dynasty, Egypt sank once more into a state of complete apathy, in which she remained until the time of the Psammetici, about a century and a half later; during this period Egypt became the battle ground of the contending armies of Ethiopia and Assyria. Egypt was without a legitimate royal house, for the descendants of the Shashanqs and Osorkons no longer ruled the land from Bubastis or Tanis, but were scattered about the country as princes of the nomes, which, in the absence of a central authority, had, as ever, become independent of each other, and

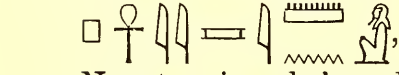
which warred with each other; the prince of each nome wearing the royal uraeus as if he alone were the lawful Pharaoh. There existed, however, a claimant to the throne of the Two Lands who considered his rights far stronger than those of the descendants of the Māsha chief Shashanq; this was the descendant of the priest-king who was ruling in Ethiopia. By the country of Ethiopia we mean, not the modern country of Abyssinia, but that portion of the Nile Valley which extends from the southern end of the First Cataract to the Island of Meroë, i.e., the country bounded on the north by the Atbara river, and on the south by the Blue Nile. The territory as far south as the foot of the Fourth Cataract had remained in the uninterrupted and comparatively peaceful possession of the Egyptians from the time of Thothmes I. until the end of the XXIst Dynasty, a period of about six hundred years.

At the end of this period the inhabitants had naturally become imbued with the culture of Egypt, and in religion, whilst still worshipping their native deities, e.g., Ṭeṭun,  , they also adopted officially the religious system of Egypt; as the result of this the god Ṭeṭun was identified with Ptaḥ, and so on. By race the people of this country, called by the Egyptians Kesh,  , which name is the original of the Hebrew Kûsh, belonged, as they still do for the most part, to the Barabara stock; the Barabara, though often called Berbers, must not be confused with the great Berber or

Libyan stock of North Africa, to which the indigenous inhabitants of Egypt had belonged. The ethnic affinities of the Nubian Barabara are unknown, and their language, which is still spoken, has not been satisfactorily assigned to any known group of tongues; it is no way connected with either the Berber (Hamitic) or Semitic idioms. The Cushites over whom the Egyptians ruled were, beyond doubt, Barabara, and there is no evidence to show that in Pharaonic times the Semitic race of Abyssinia had reached the Nile Valley, even if it had already crossed over from Arabia into Africa, which is doubtful. The capital city of Kesh or Kush was established at Nepita,  , or Napata, a name which evidently had in the native language of the country some meaning connected with water, such as "river-land"; this city was situated about twelve or fifteen miles south of Gebel Barkal, and is mentioned as early as the time of Ȧmen-ḥetep II., who tells us in his stele at 'Amâda in Northern Nubia that of the seven kings whom he slew with his own hand at Thakhisa in Syria, he hung the bodies of six upon the walls at Thebes, and sent the seventh to be exhibited at Napata as a warning to the Nubians of the fate which would befall rebels against the king's authority. Ȧmen-ḥetep III. built a temple at Gebel Barkal in honour of Ȧmen-Rā, and of this temple the two fine granite lions now in the British Museum are relics.

The natural consequence of the fact that Nubia

was only really absorbed into the kingdom of Egypt at this late period was that the worship of Àmen-Rā dominated the religion of the country, and the priests of Àmen seem to have founded a priestly colony at Napata and Gebel Barkal probably as early as the XVIIIth Dynasty; this colony served as a powerful means of binding Ethiopia to Egypt. The country so far south as Semneh and Kummeh had been an Egyptian possession since the time of the XIIth Dynasty, and under the XIIIth Dynasty Egyptian authority had been established, at least temporarily, so far south as the Island of Argo, near Dongola, but the important district of Napata was annexed for the first time under the XVIIIth Dynasty, and it was necessary to adopt an effectual means for securing its allegiance. The result of the establishment of the priests of Àmen at Napata was that the whole population became fanatically devoted to the worship of that god and faithful to the persons of his priests, who, as we have seen, under the XXIst Dynasty ruled Egypt as her kings. It was therefore natural that, when Shashanq overthrew the Dynasty of Tanis and advanced southwards to reduce Egypt to obedience, the family of the priest-kings should retire to Napata, where they continued to reign as kings, wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Henceforward Ethiopia was independent of Egypt, and the kings of the XXIInd Dynasty never attempted to make their authority felt to the south of the First Cataract.

On the other hand, the Nubian monarchs never relinquished their claim to the Egyptian throne, and as soon as an opportunity appeared, by reason of the anarchy which prevailed in Egypt after the end of the XXIInd Dynasty, Piānkhi-meri-Àmen,  , the reigning priest-king of Napata, invaded and re-conquered Egypt, and was crowned at Thebes with great pomp and ceremony. The Egyptians seem never to have accepted the rule of the Nubians contentedly, especially since these kings preferred to reside at Napata rather than in Egypt, and the petty princes of Lower Egypt were continually intriguing against their rulers, going so far as to league themselves with the Assyrians against the descendants of the princes of Thebes.

After the temporary eclipse of the Assyrian Empire, which synchronized with the rise of the kingdom of Judah, the Assyrians once again rose to power under Rammānu-Nirari II., B.C. 911, and under his son and grandson Tukulti-Ninip II., B.C. 890, and Ashur-natsir-pal, B.C. 885. The last-named king re-conquered Ḳummukh and Northern Syria, and received the submission of Sangara, the last king of the Khatti, at Karkĕmîsh. His son and successor, Shalmaneser II., B.C. 860, came into hostile contact with Ben-hadad, "the son of Tabrimon, the son of Hezion, king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus,"[1] who

[1] 1 Kings xv. 18.

was in league with Ahab, king of Israel, and he defeated them in the battle of Ḳarḳar, B.C. 854. Rammānu-Nirari III., B.C. 811, overran the whole of Palestine, and completely subjugated Phoenicia. Under Tiglath-Pileser III., B.C. 745, began the intimate connexion between Assyria and Palestine, which lasted until the end of the Second Assyrian Empire, about one hundred and fifty years later.

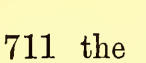
From the time of Shalmaneser IV., 727–722, the successor of Tiglath-Pileser III., the whole of Palestine was regarded as part of the Assyrian Empire. Tribute was expected to be paid regularly by the vassal kings of Syria, Israel, and Judah, and by the chiefs of the Phoenician and Philistine cities, and when it was not forthcoming, the annual campaign "at the time of the year when kings go forth to battle," which was considered necessary both for the plenishing of the king's treasury and for the maintaining of the efficiency of the army, was carried out in their countries. The Assyrians were hard masters, and revolts against their authority were common, but were usually put down with a barbarous cruelty which the Syrian and Palestinians had never experienced at the hands of the milder-mannered Egyptians. It was therefore natural that in their desire to free themselves from the tyranny of the Assyrians, the princes of Syria should turn for help to their old masters in the Nile Valley; but Egypt was now the broken reed, and the day of her power had

departed never to return, and it was quite hopeless for her armies, composed as they were of a miscellaneous gathering of chariots, and horses, and bowmen, hastily gathered together from Nubia, Egypt, Libya, and Philistia, without any organization or cohesion, and led by a number of chiefs all independent and jealous of each other, owning also but a shadowy allegiance to a Nubian Pharaoh, to contend with the ordered and disciplined hosts of Assyria.

The first appeal from Palestine to Egypt was made by Hoshea, who "had sent messengers to So king of "Egypt, and brought no present to the king of Assyria, "as he had done year by year: therefore the king shut "him up, and bound him in prison."[1] In "So king of Egypt," whose name would perhaps be more correctly spelt *Seve*, some would see the Nubian Shabaka  , who at that time was, however, not yet king, but who may well have occupied the position of commander-in-chief of the army under king Kashta, a position which was actually occupied by Sib'e, the "Tartan" of Egypt. The king of Assyria who is mentioned is Shalmaneser IV. In the reign of the next Assyrian king, Sargon (722–705), the Israelites were carried into captivity, B.C. 722, and in the official Annals under the year which corresponds to B.C. 715, we find a mention of the sending of tribute by Pir'u, (Pharaoh), of Egypt; but the fact

[1] 2 Kings xvii. 4.

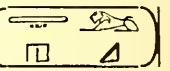
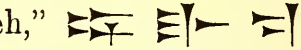
that this so-called tribute is mentioned side by side with "tribute" from It'amra, king of Sâba in Yaman, or Southern Arabia, and from a nomad Arab queen named Samsi, makes it very doubtful if anything more than complimentary gifts is referred to in this statement.

In the year 711 the Philistines revolted against Assyria with the help of Shabaka, the king of Egypt, and the city of Ashdod became the centre of the revolt under the leadership of a foreigner who is called Yatnan, i.e., the "Cypriote." The Assyrian commander-in-chief, whose official title was "Turtanu,"  , the "Tartan" of the Bible,[1] came, in the words of Isaiah, "unto Ashdod (when "Sargon the king of Assyria sent him), and fought "against Ashdod, and took it." The king of Egypt could give no real help to the rebels; their leader the Yatnan fled to Egypt, and was eventually handed over to the Assyrian king by the Egyptians. For the second time Assyria found Egypt to be in league with her subjects who had revolted, and it became evident the time was not far distant when Assyria would undertake the conquest of Egypt herself.

In the year 701, Sennacherib, king of Assyria from 705 to 681, advanced upon Egypt, and was confronted at Altaḳû, or Eltekeh,[2] near Ekron, by the "kings of Egypt, the bowmen, the chariots,

[1] Isaiah xx. 1.

[2] A city mentioned in Joshua xix. 44.

and the horses of the king of Ethiopia,"[1] who were overthrown with great slaughter. The "kings of Egypt" here, of course, are the petty princes of the Delta who called themselves kings, and the king of Ethiopia is, apparently, Shabataka  , the son and successor of Shabaka. Sennacherib, however, did not follow up his victory, but returned to complete the subjection of Judah, whose king Hezekiah had joined Padi, king of Ekron, who by calling on the Egyptians to assist him in a revolt had brought about the battle of Altaḳû. Nearly twenty years later, i.e., about 682, Sennacherib, who had in the interval completely subdued Babylonia and destroyed Babylon (689), advanced once again into Syria, on an expedition concerning which the official Assyrian Annals are silent. Jerusalem was again besieged, but this time without result, and Tirhâḳâh, or Taherq,  , who had succeeded Shabataka upon the throne of Egypt, set out to help Hezekiah, who, in spite of the well-founded warning[2] of the "Rabshakeh,"  , against the untrustworthiness of Egypt, had made a league with the king thereof. The hostile forces

[1] By "Ethiopia" we must understand Nubia as far south as the Fourth Cataract.

[2] "Now, on whom dost thou trust, that thou rebellest against "me? Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised "reed, *even* upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into "his hand, and pierce it: so *is* Pharaoh king of Egypt unto all "that trust on him."—2 Kings xviii. 20, 21.

of the Egyptians and Assyrians did not join battle. Sennacherib, hearing of the advance of Tirhâḳâh, determined to march on the Delta, and it was during this march that an epidemic broke out among his troops, and destroyed nearly all of them; Sennacherib then appears to have returned hastily to Nineveh without having either defeated Tirhâḳâh or performed upon Hezekiah the vengeance which he had threatened.

Of this catastrophe we have two entirely independent traditions, the one Hebrew and the other Egyptian, which agree as to the main fact of the destruction of Sennacherib's army. The Hebrew tradition as recorded in Isaiah (chaps. xxxvi., xxxvii.) represents Hezekiah as being in a state of terror and despair by reason of the blasphemous words and threats of the Rabshakeh, but when he had prayed to God he received a message of consolation from Isaiah the Prophet, and "Then the "angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp "of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five "thousand: and when they arose early in the morning, "behold, they *were* all dead corpses" (Isaiah xxxvii. 36). The Egyptian tradition is given by Herodotus (ii. 141) when speaking of the successor of Sabakos, whom he calls Sethôn, and describes as having been a priest of Hephaistos, "by whom the souldyers of Aegypt "were abused and had in contempt as men unfit, and "not seruing for his purpose. Wherefore beside other "slaunderous tauntes and reuiling words, whereby he "sought at all times to greeue them, he bereaued them

"also of such lands and reuenues as had bene graunted
"unto them by the former kings: for which cause,
"after that Sennackerib king of the Arabians and
"Assyrians had inuaded Aegypt with a mighty power,
"they refused to yeeld him ayd and assistance in his
"warres. The priest driven to this sudden blanke,
"not knowing howe to shift, withdrewe himselfe into a
"close parlour, where complayning himselfe before his
"god, he shewed what great and imminent perils were
"like to befall him. As he was in this sort powring
"out his teares and pittifal complaints before his
"image, he fell asleepe, when there seemed to appeare
"unto him the straunge forme of his god, willing him
"to be of good comfort, and meete his enemies in the
"field not fearing the euent of battayle, forsomuch
"as he would send him sufficient aide to assist and
"succour him. Maister parson taking hart of grace by
"this blessed uision, tooke with him such of the
"Aegyptians as were willing to follow him, and in-
"camped in Pelusia, on which side only Aegypt lieth
"open, and may be inuaded by forreine power, in
"whose cause not one of the souldiers would mooue a
"foote to followe him out of dores, but pedlers, tinkers,
"and common gadders that strayed here and there
"about the countrey. Being arriued at the place before
"named, in ye night season, there came into the tents
"of their aduersaries an huge multitude of field mice,
"which gnawed their quivers, bit in sunder their
"bowstrings, and the braces of their shields, yt in ye

"morning being disfurnished of their armour, they "betooke themselves to flight, not without the loss of "many souldiers. Herehence is it yt the picture of ye "same prince grauen of stone, is seene standing in ye "temple of Vulcane with this title and inscription, "Learn by me to feare God." [1]

The annihilation of Sennacherib's army entirely destroyed his prestige, and soon after he returned stricken to Nineveh he was murdered in the house of Nisroch, his god, by his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer, who fled to Ararat in Armenia. The murdered king was succeeded by his son Esarhaddon, B.C. 681 to 668; who, whilst as energetic as his predecessors, was a man of greater toleration and humanity. Having ascended the throne of Assyria he at once began to rebuild the city of Babylon, and it was some years before he was at leisure to occupy himself with the affairs of Egypt. In the year B.C. 670 he marched by way of Aphek, in the plain of Sharon, and Raphia, by the brook of Egypt. On the 12th day of the month of Tammuz Memphis was taken by him, but he advanced no further into the country; the local princes and chiefs, however, seem to have done homage to him, for on a stone tablet in the British Museum he styles himself "king of the kings of Egypt, and of Paturisi" (i.e.,  *Pa-ta-resu*, the country of the south), and Kûsi (i.e.,  *Kesh*

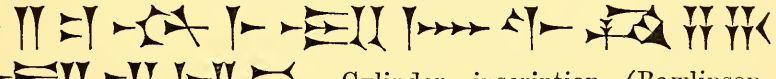
[1] B.R.'s translation, fol. 108*b*, 109*a*.

or Nubia). On his way back to Nineveh he caused a tablet commemorating his conquest of Egypt to be set up at Nahr-al-Kalb, as it were in derision of the older monuments which recorded the triumphs of Rameses II. over the Semites. Two years later it became necessary for Esarhaddon to reassert his authority in Egypt, and he set out to do so, but died on the way; he was immediately succeeded by his son Ashur-bani-pal, who reigned from B.C. 668 to 626.

In the second year of the reign of Ashur-bani-pal the Ethiopian (i.e., Nubian) king, Tirhâḳâh, marched into Egypt and regained possession of Memphis, which was, however, recaptured for the Assyrian king by the turtânu, or commander-in-chief, who led his army. Tirhâḳâh retreated to Ethiopia, and soon afterwards died there; he was succeeded by his kinsman Tandamanie, as the Assyrians called him, i.e., Tanut-Åmen. The Assyrian army pressed on as far as Thebes, but was soon afterwards recalled owing to a revolt which had broken out among the princes of the Delta; and Tanut-Åmen, the Ethiopian king, followed their retreat as far as Memphis, where he succeeded in getting himself crowned as king of Egypt. For a few years his authority was precariously maintained, but at length Ashur-bani-pal determined to eject him, and in B.C. 661 took the field in person against him; he chased him from Memphis to Thebes, and thence to Ḳipḳip, in Ethiopia. The city of Thebes was taken and sacked by the Assyrians, who, no doubt perpe-

trated in it the atrocities which they were wont to commit in captured cities; their booty was great, and included gold, silver, horses, apparel, etc. Specially mentioned by Ashur-bani-pal's annalists are two objects which he describes[1] as "(*iṣu*) *dimme ṣîrûti pitiḳ zakhlê ibbi*," and which are said by him to have weighed "2500 talents." The objects have usually been called "obelisks," but it is evident from the determinative (iṣu, i.e., wood) which is placed before the word "dimmi" that these "dimmi" cannot have been obelisks, but were wooden pillars, and therefore a more exact rendering of the Assyrian words will be, "two huge wooden pillars overlaid with shining metal," probably *smu* metal,  , electrum, of which the Egyptians were very fond. Ashur-bani-pal returned to Assyria with his loot, and never went back to Egypt, which remained loyal to the governors whom the Assyrian king had appointed for a few years, for Tanut-Ámen never attempted to reassert Ethiopian authority after the destruction of Thebes, the city of Ámen, his god. The reunification of Egypt under the energetic rule of Psamethek, the son of Nekau, prince of Saïs, finally put an end to Ashur-bani-pal's hope and intention that Egypt should become eventually a province of Assyria.

The above summary of the relations of Egypt with

[1]  . Cylinder inscription (Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. v.), col. ii. l. 41 f.

Ethiopia and Assyria between B.C. 1000 and 600 will, it is hoped, give a clearer idea of the successive events of this period than could be derived from the fuller treatment of the subject which is dealt with under the various reigns of the Egyptian kings concerned. Beyond the facts of the political history of the time there is little to interest the historian in this, the period of Egypt's greatest weakness, and the student of Egyptian art and archaeology will find little to instruct him in the monuments and relics of this age. Art had fallen into a state of complete apathy and want of originality; sculptors were content to follow without variation the models of the XIXth Dynasty, and painters remained bound in the fetters of a rigid conventionality. Much of the spirit of the old art had, undoubtedly, been lost owing to the fact that the hieroglyphic script had now become as it were an official and sacred mode of writing, used only for religious texts and funeral prayers, official records, historical inscriptions, grants to temples, etc. In the preceding period, i.e., the XIXth, XXth, and XXIst Dynasties, this had certainly not been the case; the hieroglyphics must have been then well understood even by the inferior orders of scribes, otherwise they would not have been able to write the hieratic script, which is the cursive form of the hieroglyphic characters, so well and so accurately as they did. The decay of the written language, which began as early as the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty, was followed after the lapse

of two or three centuries by the decay of the writing, which grew more and more cursive, conventional, and abbreviated, until finally, in the tenth century before Christ, the hieratic was supplemented by the newly developed script which is now known by the names Enchorial (Gr. ἐγχώριος) and Demotic (Gr. δημοτικὸς), i.e., the writing which belongs to the country or the people. The knowledge of the older hieratic disappeared entirely, and we find that Herodotus, about B.C. 450, is only acquainted with two styles of Egyptian writing, i.e., hieroglyphic and demotic. A typical historical inscription which well illustrates the language and phraseology of the time is that of Pi-ānkhi-meri-Ámen, recording his conquest of Egypt.

The end of the period under consideration marks the end of the long epoch of Egyptian history which has, rather inaptly, been called the New Empire; this period is, however, well defined and entirely distinct from the simpler epochs which preceded it, and from the time of archaistic renaissance and foreign domination which followed it. The chief characteristic of the whole period is the high development of material civilization, which carried with it the seeds of weakness and decay; the old Egypt of the period before the New Empire, simpler in its tastes and less ambitious in its projects, had gone on with little change from century to century. But the sudden brilliance of the XVIIIth Dynasty, with its high development of the arts and letters, and its far-reaching exploration

and conquests of foreign lands, its great wealth and luxury, was followed by an equally striking period of reaction and decadence, from which it emerged for a brief period under the rule of the Saïte kings, in whose time it was no longer sought ineffectually and tawdrily to imitate the unattainable splendours of the XVIIIth Dynasty, but a most remarkable and successful attempt was made to seek inspiration from the works, and the manners and customs, of the simplest, yet still in many ways the most highly developed period of Egyptian culture, i.e., the time of the great pyramid builders of the IVth Dynasty, more than three thousand years before. The accession to power of the XXVIth Dynasty marks therefore the beginning of a distinct epoch of Egyptian history which will be dealt with in the following chapter. In costume as well as in art the Egyptian of the later dynasties of the New Empire imitated the fashions of the XVIIIth Dynasty, while the Egyptian of the Saïte period imitated those of the IVth and XIIth Dynasties. The costumes of the XVIIIth Dynasty were much more elaborate and luxurious than those of former ages, which were marked by a severe simplicity that commended itself to the Egyptian of the XXVIth Dynasty.

CHAPTER IX.

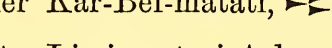
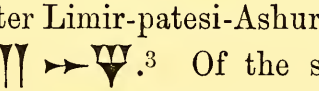
THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY.—FROM SAÏS.

We have already mentioned that, according to Herodotus, after the reign of Sethon, the high priest of Ptah, who is said by some to have brought about the destruction of Sennacherib's army, the country of Egypt was for a time ruled by the Twelve Kings. Herodotus says (ii. 147) :—"The last king (beeing as before was men-"tioned the priest of Vulcane) leauing the seat imperiall "uoid by his death, y^e^ Aegyptians being now at liberty, "and yet unable to liue without the aid of gouernment, "chose unto themselues 12. princes, deuiding ye whole "land into so many partes. These 12. ioyning betweene "themselues mutual kindred and affinity, exercised the "authority and office of kings, establishing mutuall "league and couenauntes, that none should incroch or "gather upon another, but holding himselfe satisfied "with an equall portion, should liue in friendship and "amity with the rest, which their league and agree-"ment by so much the more diligence and warines to

"confirme and strengthen, for that in y^e^ first entrance "to their kingdomes a prophecie was giuen out, that "who so dranke of a brasen mazer in the temple of "Vulcane, should be king alone over the whole land. "When the sacred rites and ceremonies obserued in "striking of league and making couenant were duly "accomplished, it liked them all to leaue some common "monument or worke behinde them to the continuance "of their memories, which they did, making a labyrinth "or maze somewhat aboue the poole called Maeris, "toward the city, much more greater and famous than "y^e^ brute goeth." [Here follows a description of the Labyrinth].

Of the Dodekarchy here mentioned it need hardly be said that there is no trace of its existence in the hieroglyphic texts, and it may as well be said at the same time that no monuments have been found of the first four kings of the XXVIth Dynasty as it is given in the versions of the King List of Manetho, who attributes to it nine kings, and says that the total number of the years of their reigns is either 150½ or 167. The name of the first king "Ammerês the Ethiopian," *Ἀμμερὴς Αἰθίοψ*, who reigned forty-eight years, is only found in the version of Eusebius, but the others, i.e., Stephinates, Nekhepsôs[1] and Nekhaô, who reigned seven, six, and eight (var. six) years

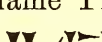
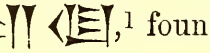
[1] On the identification of this king, and on his work in fourteen Books which he wrote with Petosiris, see the authorities quoted by Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.*, p. 600.

respectively, are found in both lists. The last of the four, Nekhaô, is clearly to be identified with the king called in the inscription of Ashur-bani-pal[1] Ni-ku-u,  , i.e., Nekau, the governor of Saïs and Memphis. This Nekau was one of the leaders of the revolt which broke out in Egypt after Ashur-bani-pal's first campaign in the country, and he escaped the fate of many of the rebels, who were either slain and their bodies hung upon stakes, or impaled or flayed alive,[2] for he was sent alive to Nineveh with one or two others. When he arrived there, for some reason or other, Ashur-bani-pal forgave him, and arrayed him in fine apparel, and put gold rings on his fingers, and gave him an iron dagger inlaid with gold and inscribed with the Assyrian king's name; after a time he reinstated him in his city of Saïs, whither he sent him with horses, and chariots, and an escort suitable to the position of the viceroy of Ashur-bani-pal in Egypt. His son Psammetichus was appointed king of Athribis, and, as has been said above, an Assyrian name was bestowed upon him; to the two cities of Saïs and Athribis were also given Assyrian names, to the former Kar-Bel-matati,  , and the latter Limir-patesi-Ashur,  .[3] Of the subsequent history of Nekau we know nothing, but it is certain that he was

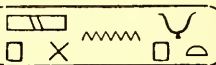
[1] Col. i., line 90.

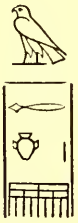
[2] Col. ii., lines 3, 4.

[3] Smith, *Assurbanipal*, p. 46 f.

not put to death as Herodotus says (ii. 152); his son, whom we are justified in calling Psammetichus by the form of his name Pi-sha-mi-il-ki,  , (var. )  ,[1] found in the great inscription of Ashur-bani-pal, became the successor of Tanut-Åmen on the throne of Egypt, and the real founder of the XXVIth Dynasty.

1.  Rā-uaḥ-åb, son of the Sun, Psemthek.

Psemthek I., or Psammetichus I., the Ψαμμήτιχος of Manetho, according to Julius Africanus and Herodotus, whose evidence is supported by that of the monuments, reigned fifty-four years. As lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet he styled himself "Neb ā," "lord of strength," and as the Horus of gold "Qen," i.e., the "Mighty One"; he married the "neter ṭuat,"  , Shep-en-åpt,  , the daughter of Åmenårṭās I. (who was the daughter of Kashta), and the king Piānkhi. Of the circumstances under which Psammetichus came to the throne we know


Åa-åb, the Horus name of Psammetichus I.

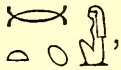
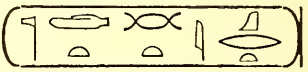
[1] On the relations of Gyges, king of Lydia, with Psammetichus I. and Ashur-bani-pal see the Annals of Ashur-bani-pal, col. ii. line 114 ff.

nothing; it seems that he must have fought for years against some of the most powerful of the governors whom Esarhaddon had appointed in the Delta, but as nothing is said about such wars in the Egyptian inscriptions we must accept the statements of Herodotus and Diodorus,[1] which say that he finally overcame his adversaries by the help of the Ionians and Carians. The soldiers belonging to these nations were, of course, better armed and better trained than the Egyptians, and their success was assured from the first. The new king of Egypt determined to establish his capital in the Delta, and he chose for the purpose the city of Saïs, the metropolis of the Fifth Nome of Lower Egypt. Saïs



Glazed Porcelain Ushabti figure of King Psammetichus I. British Museum, No. 21,922.

[1] See the extracts from these authors on pp. 211–217.

is the city called Saut,  , in the hieroglyphic texts, and it contained the sanctuary of the goddess Nit, or Neith,  , who was one of the oldest deities of Egypt. It has already been said that Psammetichus I. married a granddaughter of Kashta called Shep-en-àpt II., and that she was a priestess of the grade "neter ṭuat," and it is clear that he did so because he wished to legalize his claim to the kingdom of the Thebaïd. By this wife he had a daughter called Nit-àqert,  , or Nitocris, and we know from a very interesting stele discovered by M. Legrain at Karnak[1] that he caused her to be adopted by the lady Shep-en-àpt, the sister of Tirhâḳâh, who had inherited property from her father and mother, and had already adopted a daughter of Tirhâḳâh called Àmenàrṭās (II.). The stele, which is dated in the ninth year of the reign of Psammetichus I., proves that Tirhâḳâh's sister was ruling in Thebes as a priestess of Àmen whilst Psammetichus I. was reigning at Saïs and that when Nit-àqert had been adopted by her the daughter of the king of Saïs (Nit-àqert) took her name also. The stele was set up to commemorate her journey to Thebes, where she was received with the greatest joy as the heiress of Tirhâḳâh's sister, and where she, no doubt, not only received her property but also the rank and position of her whose name she took, Shep-en-àpt,

[1] See *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxv., 1897, p. 12 ff.

the daughter of Piānkhi and Åmenårṭās I., and granddaughter of Kashta and Shep-en-åpt I., the last-named lady being a daughter of Osorkon.[1]

The narratives of Herodotus and Diodorus quoted below show plainly that Psammetichus I., having gained the kingdom by the help of foreign mercenaries, perceived that it was better to try and keep it by means of them than to rely like his predecessors upon Egyptian and Nubian troops. He adopted the military system, such as it was, which was employed by them, and attempted to develop, with considerable success, the methods of trading which they followed. He protected his country by garrisons, which he stationed, one at Elephantine against the Nubians, another at Pelusium Daphnae [2] against the Arabians and Syrians, and another at Marea against Libya, and Herodotus says (ii. 30) that even in his time garrisons of Persians were stationed in the same places as the mercenaries were in the time of Psammetichus. He further says that 240,000 of these soldiers, who had been on duty for three years and had not been relieved at their posts, revolted from Psammetichus and made their way into Ethiopia. The king pursued and overtook them, and entreated them with many arguments not to forsake the gods of their fathers, and their children, and their wives, but they replied with words to the effect that

[1] See the genealogical table in Erman's article in *Aeg. Zeitschrift*, vol. xxxv., 1897, p. 29.

[2] See Petrie, *Defenneh*, p. 47 (in *Tanis*, vol. ii.).

men could always find wives and children wherever they were. But this story is not historical and, as Wiedemann says, was only invented to account for the introduction of Egyptian civilization into Nubia.

When Psammetichus I. had taken possession of the country he devoted himself to the development of its trade, and a portion of the profits which he derived from his commercial enterprises he devoted to the service of the temples of his goddess Neith and of the god Åmen. A considerable number of inscriptions are dated in various years of his reign, e.g., in his 3rd, 4th, 12th, 14th, 19th, 20th, 22nd, 24th, 30th, 45th, 51st and 52nd years,[1] but these do not indicate that he carried out any very extensive works or building operations in any part of Egypt. His greatest undertaking was the large gallery with side chambers which he added to the Serapeum at Ṣaḳḳâra; it is not known how many chambers he caused to be made, for several which now exist in his gallery were made under the Ptolemies. The stelae belonging to his reign which Mariette found here are of the greatest chronological importance, and from one of them[2] we learn that Psammetichus I. immediately followed Tirhâḳâh on the throne of Egypt. An Apis Bull died in the twentieth year of the reign of Psammetichus, aged 21 years, and as it is stated that the Bull was born in the twenty-sixth year of the reign

[1] See them enumerated in Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 618, 619.

[2] For the text see Mariette, *Sérapéum*, iii. pl. 36.

of Tirhâḳâh it follows that the interval between the two kings cannot have been longer than a few months. We may also notice that the reign of Tanut-Ámen, which lasted about three years, is not taken into consideration, a fact which indicates that he and Psammetichus reigned jointly, or that he was king of the Thebaïd and Nubia, whilst Psammetichus was king of the Northern Kingdom, which he ruled from Saïs. The name of Psammetichus I. is found once at Karnak, although he did not repair or add to the temple of Ámen-Rā at Thebes, and several times at Memphis, a fact which proves him to have been a worshipper of Ptaḥ.

An interesting black basalt "Intercolumnal Slab" in the British Museum (No. 20), shows us the king making an offering to the gods, who in the usual stereotyped phrases promise to give him dominion over all lands; attempts were made many years ago to prove from the figure of the king cut upon it, which is undoubtedly intended to be a portrait, that Psammetichus I. was of Nubian or Ethiopian origin, but some think that it proves him to have been a Libyan. The largest known monument[1] of his reign is the obelisk inscribed with his name which was brought from Egypt by the Emperor Augustus, and set up in the Circus Maximus at Rome; it appears to be the

[1] For an excellent list of the monuments of priests and officials who lived in the reign of Psammetichus I. see Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 622 ff., and Supplement, p. 68.

obelisk referred to by Pliny (xxxvi. 14),[1] who says that it was quarried by order of a king (whose name is spelt in some sixteen different ways in the Latin MSS.) who was reigning in Egypt when Pythagoras visited that country. A tradition is preserved by Strabo (i. 3, 21) which says that Psammetichus I. was, like Tirhâḳâh and Sesostris, a great traveller, and suggests that he conducted expeditions into foreign countries, but there is no evidence to be deduced from the inscriptions which will support this view. The only campaign which he carried on outside Egypt was that which he undertook against Ashdod in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, and it is probable that it was not conducted in person; we may therefore conclude that the great expeditions of some earlier king have become associated with his name. Psammetichus I. died after a reign of fifty-four years which was characterized by peace and prosperity, by a great revival of art and sculpture which imitated the best examples of the Early Empire, and by the settlement of Greeks and other foreigners in Egypt. He was buried in the funeral chapel at Saïs, wherein his successors were also laid, and Herodotus tells us (ii. 170) that it was adorned with columns having palm-leaf capitals, and with other ornaments, and it is also mentioned by Strabo (xvii. 1, 18). It was

[1] This obelisk stood in old days near the site of the present church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, and was used as the indicator of a sundial; its height, including the globe and pedestal, is 84 feet. Baedeker, *Rome*, p. 206.

situated near the temple of Neith and the tomb of Osiris, and in the enclosure hard by were stone obelisks and a lake with stone sides, whereon at certain periods of the year the priests performed the "mysteries" connected with the traditional history of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Osiris.

The accounts of the reign of Psammetichus I. given by Herodotus and Diodorus are of such interest that they are here reproduced in full. Herodotus[1] says, . . .
"Now when the 12. kings of Egypt had practised equity
"euery one within his owne territory, they drew together
"at a certaine time to do sacrifice in Vulcans temple,
"where (as y^e maner was) y^e last day of y^e festiuall,
"the priest ministred wine unto them in certaine
"chalices of gold, reserued for the same use, where
"happily missing of his number, hauing but xi
"cups for xii princes, Psammitichus standing last,
"tooke from his head a brasen costlet, and for want
"of a cup, dranke therein. In lyke maner fel it out
"with the rest of the princes, that euery one was
"there presente in his head peece of brasse. In thus
"doyng, it was deemed that Psammitichus meante no
"crafte or legerdemayne, but had a playne and simple
"meaning. Howbeit, it could not sinke with the rest
"but that he did it of purpose, and comming in mind
"of the oracle that was geuen them, that whosoeuer
"dranke of a brasen chalice, should usurpe the whole
"empyre alone: weying his facte, and finding that it

[1] B. R.'s translation, fol. 112*a* ff.

"was committed by errour, they thought it not meete
"to put him to death, but depriuing him of the greatest
"parte of his dominion, banished him into the marrish
"countrey, with especiall threates, that he should not
"meddle with any part of the countrey besides. Not-
"withstanding, Psammitichus hauing put to flight
"Sabbacus the king of the Aethyopians, and chased
"him into Syria, after this conquest was acquit of hys
"exile, and restored agayne by those Aegyptians which
"are of the tribe of Sais, wherefore, once agayne using
"gouernment wyth the rest of hys confederates, for the
"olde grudge of the brazen helmet, they forced him to
"take the fennes agayne.

"Recounting therefore with himselfe y^e^ great despight
"they had wrought him, determined eftsoones to reuenge
"his cause upon those yt had pursued him, and speeding
"a messenger to the oracle of Latona in the citie of
"Butis, which of all the seates of southsaying is of
"greatest truth, aunswere was giuen him to be of good
"courage, he shoulde haue helpe inough by brasen
"men that shoulde arise from the sea. Which prophecie
"for the straungenesse thereof could hardly sincke into
"his braines, to make him hope for the helpe of brazen
"souldyers. Not long after, certayne pyrates of
"Ionia and Caria proling alongst the seacoastes for
"their pray, were by constraynte of weather driuen
"upon the shores of Aegypt, where going on lande all
"in armour of brasse, a certayne Aegyptian ranne
"to Psammitichus in the fennes, and for that he had

"neuer before seene any in the like array, he tolde "him that certayne brasen men were sproong out of "the sea to waste and despoyle the countrey. Psammi- "tichus reknowledging the truth of the prophecie, "foorthwith ioyned himselfe in amitie with the rouers, "inducing them by great and large promises, to abide "with him, which being by him in like sorte obteyned, "with this fresh supply of forreyne ayde, and the helpe "of such Aegyptians as fauoured his cause, he pro- "uided against the rest of the princes. Hauing the "whole gouernemente alone, he made in the city of "Memphis certayne porches sacred to the god Vulcane, "lying upon the South winde, and ouer against the "porches a fayre large haule dedicated to Apis, "wherein the god Apis at suche time as he appeared, "was releeued and nourished. This place was beset "round with stately pillers, and ingrauen with sundrie "similitudes and imbossements of beastes, foules, and "fishes. Wherein also in place of some pillers are "planted diuers fayre images of no lesse than twelue "cubites in bignesse.

"To these forreiners of Caria and Ionia, by whome "he was holpen in his warres, Psammitichus gave "certayne manner of places to dwell in, lying on "each side of the riuer Nilus, called the Tentes, "whereof beeing possessed, he performed all such "promises besides that were couenaunted betweene "them. Moreouer, he put onto them certayne yong "impes of the Aegyptians to be instructed in the

"Greek language, from whome, by discent of issue "came those which are now interpreters in Aegypte, "and use the Greeke tongue. A long time did the "people of Ionia and Caria inhabite those places lying "against the sea, somewhat aboue the city of Bubastis, "situate at the mouth of Nilus, which is called "Pelusiacum, from whence, they were afterwards trans- "lated by King Amasis into the city Memphis to gard "him against the Aegyptians. After the Greeks were "thus setled in Aegypt, the people of Greece had "traffique thither, by which meanes, such affayres as "were atchieued in that countrey from Psammitichus "following, are certaynely knowne of us without any "errour. These were the first that inhabited Aegypt, "being of a diuers language from the homelings. In "like manner, from whence they fleeted thither, the "reliques of their ships wherein they came, the olde "postes and groundreels of their houses were shewed "me. And these were the meanes whereby Psam- "mitichus obteyned the dominion of Aegypt. Psam- "mitichus gouerned in Aegypt 54. yeares, 29. of the "which he spent in the asseige of the great city of "Syria, which at length he subdued. This city is "called Azotus, which of all the cities that euer wee "hearde of, susteyned the longest assaulte." The above extract well illustrates the general policy of Psammetichus I. in respect of foreigners, and the statements in it are confirmed by the results obtained from the excavations which have been made in the Delta by

Brugsch, Mariette, Naville, Petrie, and others between 1860 and 1895.

The narrative of Diodorus is as follows:—

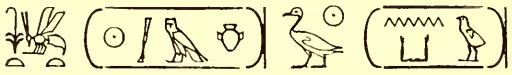
"Psammeticus Saites, one of the kings, whose pro-
"vince was upon the sea coast, trafficked with all sorts
"of merchants, and especially with the Phoenicians
"and Grecians; by this means, enriching his province,
"by vending his own commodities, and the importation
"of those that came from Greece, he not only grew
"very wealthy, but gained an interest in the nations
"and princes abroad; upon which account, he was
"envied by the rest of the kings, who for that reason
"made war upon him. Some antient historians tell a
"story, that these princes were told by the oracle, that
"which of them should first pour wine out of a
"brazen phial, to the god adored at Memphis, should be
"sole lord of all Egypt. Whereupon Psammeticus,
"when the priest brought out of the temple twelve
"golden phials, plucked off his helmet, and poured
"out a wine-offering from thence; which when his
"colleagues took notice of, they forebore putting him
"to death, but deposed him and banished him into the
"fens, bordering upon the sea coast. Whether, there-
"fore, it were this, or envy, as it is said before, that
"gave birth to this dissension and difference amongst
"them, it is certain Psammeticus hired soldiers out of
"Arabia, Caria, and Ionia, and in a field fight near
"the city Momemphis, he got the day. Some of the
"kings of the other side were slain, and the rest fled

"into Africa, and were not able further to contend for "the kingdom. Psammeticus having now gained "possession of the whole, built a portico to the east "gate of the temple at Memphis, in honour of that "god, and incompassed the temple with a wall, sup- "porting it with Colossuses of twelve cubits high, in "the room of pillars. He bestowed likewise upon his "mercenary soldiers many large rewards over and "above their pay promised them. He gave them also "a place called Stratopedon to inhabit, and divided "amongst them by lot a large piece of land, a little "above the mouth of Pelusium, whom Amasis (who "reigned many years after), transplanted to Memphis. "Being therefore that he had gained the kingdom by "the help of his stipendiary soldiers, he intrusted "them chiefly in the concerns of the government, and "entertained great numbers of strangers and foreigners. "Afterwards undertaking an expedition into Syria "(to honour the foreigners), he placed them in the "right wing of his army; but out of sight and "disregard to the natural Egyptians, he drew "them up in the left; with which affront the "Egyptians were so incensed, that above two hundred "thousand of them revolted, and marched away "towards Ethiopia, there to settle themselves in new "habitations.

"At first the king sent some of his captives after them, "to make an apology for the dishonour done them; but "these not being hearkened unto, the king himself, with

"some of his nobility, followed them by water. But "they marched on, and entered Egypt, near the river "Nile, where he earnestly entreated them to alter their "purpose, and to remember their gods, their country, "wives, and children: they all cried out, (beating "upon their shields, and shaking their spears), that "as long as they had arms in their hands, they "could easily gain another country; and . . . . they "should never want wives or children. Possessed "by this resolution and magnanimity of mind, they "despised every thing that by all others are highly "prized and valued, and settled themselves in a rich "and fruitful soil in Ethiopia, dividing the land "among themselves by lot. Psammeticus laid this "greatly to heart, and made it his business to settle "the affairs of Egypt, and to increase his revenues, "and entered into league with the Athenians and "other Grecians, and was very kind and liberal to all "strangers that came into Egypt. He was so taken "with the Grecians, that he caused his son to be "instructed in the Grecian learning. He was certainly "the first of all the kings of Egypt that encouraged "foreigners to traffic in his country, giving safe con- "duct to all strangers that sailed hither. For the "former kings allowed no strangers to come into Egypt, "and if any did arrive, they either put them to death, "or made them slaves: and it was the churlishness of "this nation, which caused all that noise among the "Greeks, concerning the cruelty and wickedness of

"Busiris, though all was not true as it was related, "but the extraordinary severity of the country gave "occasion to the raising of those fables."—(Booth's Translation, vol. i. p. 69 ff.)

2.  RĀ-UḤEM-ÀB, son of the Sun, NEKAU.

NEKAU II., or NECHO II., the son of Psammetichus I., the *Νεχὰω* of Manetho, the *Νεκώς* of Herodotus, and the נְכֹה or נְכוֹ of 2 Kings xxiii. 29, Jeremiah xlvi. 2, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, xxxvi. 4, reigned, according to Manetho, six years, but according to the monuments, at least fifteen years. This fact is proved by the stele dated in the sixteenth year of the reign of Necho II. which was found by Mariette in the Serapeum,[1] and which records the burial of an Apis Bull at the age of 16 years, 7 months, and 17 days, which was born in the 53rd year of Psammetichus I.[1] Necho II. as lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet styled himself "Maā-kheru," i.e., "he whose word is right," and as the Horus of gold, he was "Neteru mer,"  , i.e., "beloved of the gods." He followed the example set by his father



SA-ÀB, the Horus name of Nekau II.

[1] See Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, p. 28 (vol. with plates).

Psammetichus I., and maintained a powerful army, which he recruited from the Greeks and other foreign peoples, and their influence became exceedingly strong in the Delta during his reign. He became the patron of trading enterprise, and seeing what great advantage his new friends, and soldiers, and allies derived from the possession of fleets of ships, he gave orders for fleets of triremes to be built for him, both in the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. In order to give these vessels the opportunity of being employed upon both seas, he conceived the idea of connecting them by means of a canal, which he intended to join the old canal that was already in existence in the days of Rameses II. This old canal seems to have been made from Pelusium to the modern Lake Timsaḥ, and it was, no doubt, as useful as a means of defence as for transporting merchandise from the Mediterranean to the east of the Delta. The Arabic name "Ḳanṭara," i.e., "Bridge," given to a station on the modern Suez Canal, seems to indicate that a ford existed near there in very ancient times. Necho II. wished to take his canal from Lake Timsaḥ to the head of the Gulf of Suez, and thus he would have been able to sail his ships from Suez to Memphis, passing by way of the Wâdî Ṭûmîlât into the Nile near Bubastis, or from Suez to Pelusium. Necho II. employed 120,000 men in his work, but he never finished his canal; it is said that an oracle having declared that he was only toiling for the foreigner he

relinquished the undertaking.[1] When Necho II. began to dig the canal is unknown, but it is probable that he undertook the work in connexion with the building of his fleets of triremes early in his reign, and before he led his soldiers into Syria.

According to Herodotus (ii. 41), Necho II. proved that Libya was surrounded by water by sending certain Phoenicians to sail round it. They set out from the Red Sea and sailed over the southern sea; when autumn came, they went ashore, and sowed the land, and waited for harvest, and when they had reaped the corn they put to sea again. This they did for two years, and in the third they doubled the Pillars of Hercules, and arrived in Egypt again, reporting, what Herodotus does not believe, that as they sailed round Libya they had the sun on their right hand. Necho II. may have carried out works of this kind during his father's lifetime, and if so, this fact would account for the statement of Strabo to the effect that Psammetichus I. was a great traveller and explorer.

The greatest event in the life of Necho II. was his campaign in Syria, which, although it began well, ended in the destruction of his army and in his own ignominious flight to Egypt. He seems to have

[1] It was finished by Darius I. (B.C. 521 to 486). Trajan either repaired or re-dug the canal early in the second century A.D., and it was again repaired or re-dug by 'Amr ibn al-'Âṣ about A.D. 640.

ascended the throne about B.C. 611, and one of his earliest plans appears to have been to prepare to invade Syria, and to march into the north to reclaim on behalf of Egypt the countries which had once been the vassal states of his ancestors, but which were now paying tribute to the king of Assyria. Whether he intended his fleets to play a part in this bold scheme cannot be said, but it is certain that he had heard of the serious difficulties in which the kingdom of Assyria found itself, and he determined to seize the opportunity to benefit himself and his country. Having collected an army of Egyptians, Libyans, and other mercenaries, he set out for the Euphrates, meaning to establish himself at Karkĕmîsh and to do battle there with the army of the king of Assyria.[1] On his road Josiah, king of Judah, went out against him, and Necho "sent "ambassadors to him, saying, What have I to do with "thee, thou king of Judah? I come not against thee "this day, but against the house wherewith I have "war; for God commanded me to make haste: forbear "thou from meddling with God, who is with me, that "he destroy thee not." To this message Josiah paid no heed, but having disguised himself he went out to do battle with the Egyptians, in the Valley of Megiddo; in the course of the fight the archers of the Egyptians shot at him with their arrows, and he was mortally wounded and died, and his body was taken to Jerusalem

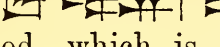
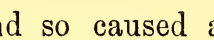
[1] 2 Chron. xxxv. 21 ff.; 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

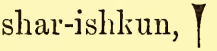
and buried there.[1] Necho certainly had no quarrel with Josiah, and the only possible explanation of his conduct is that he regarded the whole of Northern Syria and the country eastwards as far as the Euphrates as a part of his own kingdom; in fact, that he also was reclaiming the territory which tradition told him was formerly the possession of his ancestors.

After the death of Josiah Necho appears to have continued his march to the Euphrates, but as he found no Assyrian army there he came back towards Egypt. In the course of his journey he found that the people of Judah had made Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah and Hamutal, the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah, their king, and when he had reigned three months Necho put him in chains in Riblah of Hamath, and made the people pay 100 talents of silver and one talent of gold. Necho then appointed another son of Josiah called Eliakim, whose name he changed to Jehoiakim, to be king, and he took Jehoahaz to Egypt, where he died.[2] But whilst Necho was thus occupied in Syria and was waiting his opportunity to fight the Assyrians, Nineveh was, according to some authorities, besieged by the Medes under Cyaxares, and by the Babylonians under Nabû-pal-

[1] Josiah was deeply mourned by his people, who remembered him as the king who had abolished the worship of idols, and had slain their priests, and had restored the worship of Yahweh. In his reign Hilkiah the priest "found" the Book of the Law in the house of the Lord (2 Kings xxii. 8).

[2] 2 Kings xxiii. 31 ff.

uṣur,  (B.C. 626–605), and after a period, which is said to have been three years, the Babylonians and Medes became masters of the city. This result seems to have been brought about partly by the waters of the Tigris, which during some extraordinarily high rise of the river undermined the walls, and so caused a portion of them, several hundred yards in length, to fall, thus enabling the enemy to attack the palaces and temples without difficulty. Cyaxares and Nabû-pal-uṣur looted the palaces and temples, and laid utterly waste Nineveh; whether Sin-shar-ishkun,  , the last king of Assyria, was burnt to death or slain by the sword is unknown. Nineveh was destroyed about B.C. 607 or 606.

Necho II. having then become the master of Syria and Palestine, Nabû-pal-uṣur sent an army under the leadership of his son Nabû-kudur-uṣur,  , to drive him out of the country, which the Babylonians now regarded as their own. The opposing armies met at Karkĕmîsh, and a fierce battle took place, in which the Egyptians, Libyans, and Nubians were routed with great slaughter, and Necho II. was obliged to seek safety in flight. Nabû-kudur-uṣur (Nebuchadnezzar) advanced towards Egypt, and on his way received tribute from Jehoiakim, king of Judah, who "became his servant three years" (2 Kings xxiv. 1). Shortly after this Nebuchadnezzar received the news of

his father's death and, putting off the chastisement of Egypt until a more convenient opportunity, he returned to Babylon. Meanwhile Necho II. had succeeded in reaching his own country, where a year or two after his defeat he died; he was buried at Ṣaïs with his father. We have no record of his wars in the hieroglyphic texts, and the monuments of his reign are few, and consist chiefly of small objects like scarabs, vases,[1] etc. He seems to have carried out some building operations in his own city and at Memphis in connexion with the temple of Ptaḥ, but it is quite clear that he took no care to rebuild or maintain the old sanctuaries of Egypt.

This account of his works is given by Herodotus (ii. 159):—"Insuing the raigne of Psammitichus, the "gouernmente of the countrey fell to Necus hys sonne; "by whome, first of all was the channell digged that "leadeth to the red sea, whych afterwards was cast "afreshe, and made deeper by Darius the Persian. The "length of the course was four dayes sayling, the breadth "such, as two reasonable vessels of three oares apeece "might well sayle in it together. The water which is "derived from Nilus into this channell floweth into it a "little aboue the city Bubastis, against a towne of "Arabia named Patumon,[2] and so continueth hys course "unto the red Sea. They beganne first to digge from the

[1] See Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 631.

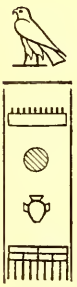
[2] I.e.,  , Pa-Tem, a city in the Eastern Delta.

"playne of Aegypt towardes Arabia, for all the countrey
"about the playne is filled and occupyed wyth a course
"of greate mountaynes neere unto the citie Memphis,
"wherein are many pittes and quarries of stone, where-
"fore from the roote of thys mountayne is the channell
"deriued, continuing a long course towards the East,
"untyll it come to the place where the hyll parteth in
"twayne, whyche distaunce and separation betweene the
"mountaynes openeth to the South regions, and leadeth
"to the narrow seas of Arabia. In the digging of thys
"course there perished an hundred and twentye thou-
"sande of the people of Aegypt. When thys enterprise
"was halfe done, Necus brake off and lefte it unfinished,
"being discouraged by a prophecie that tolde hym that
"hee toyled for the profite and behoofe of a Barbarian.[1]
"The Aegyptians tearme them all Barbarians which
"are of a sundry language. Necus therefore leauing
"hys worke unfinished, applyed hys studie to the pro-
"vision of warre, gathering souldyers, and preparing a
"fleete of warring Shippes, some of which were builte
"at the North Seas, others in the strayghtes of Arabia
"at the red Sea, some tokens whereof are yet to
"be seene in the same places. Thys Fleete he em-
"ployed in hys affayres continuallie so long as it fitted
"hym to the use of warre. Forsaking afterwards the Sea,
"and giuing himselfe to battailes by the land, where,

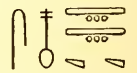
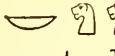
[1] Diodorus tells us that he left off digging because he was told that if he cut through the Isthmus all Egypt would be drowned, because the Red Sea lay higher than Egypt (i. 33, §9).

"in a conflict with the Syrians at a place named "Magdolos, he wanne the renowne of the fielde, and "after the battyle was ended, took the greate city "Caditis. And beeyng very neate and fine in hys "apparrell, he sent a siute of hys brauest array to "Apollo in Branchidae, a certayne field of the Mi-"lesians. In the ende, after he had held the kingdome "seauenteene yeares, hee then died, leauing the title of "his soueraignety to Psammis his sonne."

3.  Rā-nefer-ab, son of the Sun, Psemthek.



Menkh-ab, the Horus name of Psammetichus II.

Psemthek II., or Psammetichus II., the Psammuthis of Manetho, and the Psammis of Herodotus (ii. 161), was the son of Necho II., and reigned six years. As lord of the shrines of Nekhebet and Uatchet he styled himself "User-ā," i.e., "Mighty of Strength," and as the Horus of gold he was "Senefer taui,"  , "Beautifier of the two lands." In the cartouche containing his name as "son of the Sun" in the Wâdî Ḥammâmât, the title "lord of two-fold strength,"  , is prefixed to his name Psemthek. According to M. Maspero[1] Psammetichus II. was quite a

[1] *Guide du Visiteur au Musée de Boulaq*, p. 26.

child when he came to the throne; he bases this view upon the size of the sarcophagus of the king which was found at Damanhûr, whither it must have been brought from Sa al-Ḥaggar, which marks the site of the ancient city of Saïs. The place hollowed out for the mummy was only 4 feet 7 in. long, and if the king was actually buried in it he must have died before he became a man; the workmanship is very rough and the sarcophagus was never finished. According to Herodotus (ii. 161), he led an expedition against the Ethiopians, or Nubians, and died soon afterwards. According to many authorities[1] the famous Greek inscription on the broken colossal granite statue of Rameses II. in front of the temple of Abû Simbel in Nubia refers to this expedition, although it has usually been regarded as belonging to the reign of Psammetichus I., the grandfather of Psammetichus II. The Greek text is to the effect that when king Psammetichos came to Elephantine, Archon son of Amoibichos, and Pelekos, son of Oudamos, who came with Psammetichos, son of Theokles, [further than Elephantine] and went by way of Kerkîs as far as the river permitted them to go, wrote the inscription. The foreigners were led by Potasimto,[2] and the Egyptians by Amasis. It has

[1] Wiedemann, *Aeg. Gesch.*, pp. 631, 632; Wiedemann, *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. xxxv. pp. 367–372; Krall, *Wiener Studien*, 1882, p. 165; Krall, *Grundriss*, p. 177.

[2] Krall has shown (*Wiener Studien*, 1882, p. 164 f.) that Potasimto = Pe-ṭā-Ḥeru-sam-taui,  .

been suggested that for Kerkîs we should read Kortis, i.e., Karthat,  , the modern Arabic Ḳûrta or Korti, a place south of Dakkeh on the west bank of the Nile in Nubia, but it is better to regard Kerkîs as the correct reading, and to consider with Ebers and Maspero[1] that it is the name of some place nearer Wâdî Ḥalfa. It is impossible at present to say which king called Psammetichus is referred to in the Greek inscription, but it is in any case interesting to note that the Egyptians and Nubians were again fighting each other in the XXVIth Dynasty, and the numerous inscriptions at Abû Simbel in Carian, Phoenician, and other languages show that the troops employed by the Egyptians were chiefly foreigners.

During the short reign of Psammetichus II. building operations appear to have been carried on in a number of the sanctuaries of Egypt. His name is found in the quarries at Silsila, Wâdî Ḥammâmât, and Ṭûra, a fact which proves that stone for building purposes was required in considerable quantities. His cartouches are found on a huge double rock on the Island of Biggeh, and at Elephantine, and at other places in the First Cataract,[2] and their appearance here seems to indicate that he did come to Elephantine, and that he is the king Psammetichus referred to in the Greek inscription at Abû Simbel. At Karnak, Memphis, and

[1] *Hist. Anc.*, vol. iii. p. 538.

[2] See J. de Morgan, *Catalogue*, pp. 69 and 114.

Heliopolis he carried out repairs, and dedicated certain monuments to the gods of those cities; but it is evident that at Thebes he usurped blocks and slabs which had been hewn for his predecessors.

Fragments of statues of the king are found in many collections,[1] and many small objects inscribed with his name are known. According to Herodotus (ii. 161) in the reign of Psammis, "a certain people called Helus[2] "sent messengers abrode into all regions, to give them "to understand how by them was deuised a game in "Olympus of greater admiration and equitie, than by "any that euer had used that place, supposing that "the Aegyptians (who had the prayse of wisedome "above all nations) could not better or more iustly "dispose of these matters then themselves. When "they were come into Aegypt, and had told the cause "of their arriuall thither, the king assembled such of "the Aegyptians as were most excellent for graue and "sage aduice above the rest. To whome, when the "Helians had made discourse of all those things which "they had ordeyned in the setting foorth of this noble "combate, and had asked the Aegyptians if they could "deuise anything better, after deliberation had of "the matter, they asked the Helians whether they "had inacted that citizens should mayntayne the "controuersie against strangers, or otherwise, who "aunswered, that it was indifferently lawfull for all

[1] For a list see Wiedemann, *Aeg. Geschichte*, p. 634.

[2] I.e., Elians.

"to striue of what countrey soever he were; wherto "the Aegyptians replyed, that it coulde no wise stande "wyth iustice, forsomuch as one citizen would shew "fauour to another, and by that meanes of partial "dealing do injurie to those y^{t} came from farre, so that "in case they would order y^{e} matter with more equity, "and for that cause had arrived in Aegypt, it were "better to make the game for strangers alone, not "suffering any of the Helians to striue. These things "the Aegyptians put into theyr heads and sent them "packing."

END OF VOL. VI.

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